

Contribution of the Scottish Church to New Brunswick
Presbyterianism from its Earliest Beginnings
until the Time of the Disruption,
and Afterwards.
1784 --- 1852.

Being a Thesis submitted to the University of Edinburgh as
partial requirement for the Degree of Ph. D. in the Depart-
ment of Theology.

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FOREWORD

Presbyterianism in New Brunswick owes its origin, its growth, its strength----owes even its divisions----to the Church in Scotland. True it is that there were two or three charges in the southern part of the Province of the connection of the Reformed Church in Ireland, but overwhelmingly it was the Church in Scotland that planted Presbyterianism in New Brunswick.

The purpose of this essay is to tell the story of that planting, tell too of how the Mother Church not only planted but watched over and tended her daughter Church in the Colony through all the early and difficult and formative years until the middle of last century.

In such a study as this one cannot help but be struck with the difference between the history of Presbyterianism in New Brunswick and the history of Presbyterianism in the neighbouring Province of Nova Scotia. In the latter Province Presbyterianism owes its origin to the New England States; then, shortly later it looked to the Scottish Secession Church, to the Burgher and the Antiburgher branches, as the main source of its strength. In New Brunswick however there was no preloyalist Presbyterianism, no Burgher and Antiburgher divisions. Indeed those two latter bodies were just on the eve of coming together in

Nova Scotia by the time that New Brunswick was able to obtain its first settled Secession minister.

The main body of this essay deals with the contribution of the Established Church of Scotland to New Brunswick Presbyterianism, a contribution by far and away the greatest of all.

In the closing chapters the story of the Disruption and of its effects upon New Brunswick Presbyterianism is taken up, the study being carried on down to the year 1852, by which time both Synods, "Established" and "Free" had become "settled," had formed their own plans and policies, and were carrying on their separate work. And here again one cannot help but notice how different was the history of the Disruption in Nova Scotia. For whereas in New Brunswick the Church of Scotland Synod still carried on, in Nova Scotia the Church of Scotland Synod broke up altogether and for years following 1844 the Synods of the "Free Church" and the "Secession Church" (which latter was always a very strong cause in that Province) were the only Presbyterian Synods in Nova Scotia.

This essay is meant to be exhaustive as a history of the beginnings of the Church of Scotland congregations in New Brunswick, in so far as the Mother Church was concerned, during the period under study, also of the Disruption and its immediate effects upon the cause of Presbyterianism in the Province. It has been felt that by quoting directly, in many cases at length, from the original records the essay would be of more value to students in local congregations wishing to make a study of the early days in their particular church and of the faithful interest in their cause by the Church in Scotland; and thus it

is that the body of the essay is so replete with passages, quotations, and extracts of letters taken verbatim from the records.

Acknowledgements are due to Dr. Hugh Watt, New College, University of Edinburgh, for his kindly interest and advice; to Dr. Morrison of the Church of Scotland Library, Edinburgh, for permission to make a study of the Church of Scotland Missionary Records; to Dr. Clarence MacKinnon, Principal of Pine Hill Divinity Hall, Halifax, for his help and encouragement; to Dr. James Falconer for the use of materials in the Pine Hill Library and vault; and to Miss E. Vaughan and staff of the Public Library, St. John, for their fine courtesy in helping to find old papers and records relative to New Brunswick Presbyterianism. Many others also there are (some of them their names unknown) to whom the writer of this essay is greatly indebted; the custodian of the Free Church Missionary Records in the Church Offices, George St., Edinburgh; the custodian of the Correspondence and Records of the Glasgow Colonial Society in the Archives of the Legislative Buildings, Toronto; the Librarian at Woodstock, New Brunswick, where the Winslow Papers were examined; Mr. S. H. MacFarlane, St. Paul's Church, Fredericton; and many others who by their advice, their interest and their encouragement have helped to bring this essay through to completion.

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J. E. Archibald

Walton, Nova Scotia.

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Abbreviations

G. C. S. Corr. Correspondence of the Glasgow Colonial
Society.

C. C. Colonial Committee

N. B. H. S. Collection of New Brunswick Historical
Society

"Gregg" refers to History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada
to 1834 by Wm. Gregg.

"Croil" refers to Story of the Kirk in the Maritime Provinces
in December issue of The Presbyterian, 1875 by J. Croil.

"Record" refers to The Home and Foreign Missionary Record of
the Church of Scotland.

"Patterson" refers to Memoir of Rev. James MacGregor by Rev.
George Patterson.

"Jack" refers to History of St. Andrew's Church, N. B. by
D. R. Jack.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

I

Early History of New Brunswick.

New Brunswick, until the coming of the Loyalists late in the eighteenth century, was a part of the Province of Nova Scotia. In earliest days these combined provinces with the Island of St. John (now Prince Edward Island) and some adjacent territories were known by the name of Acadie.¹ Shortly after, about 1624, the name was changed to New Scotland----later still the Latinized form of that name, having become the more popular, was adopted----thus Nova Scotia.

The first expedition of which we have any record to the shores of that which is now New Brunswick is that of De Monts and Champlain in the year 1604.² It consisted of both Protestant

Note. Dr. Ian MacKinnon's recently published book, Settlements and Churches in Nova Scotia, 1749--1776, has been a great help in the study of these early days. It is an invaluable book for the student desiring an exhaustive study of the pre-loyalist settlements in Nova Scotia.

1--Name in Charter given to De Monts in 1603.

2--This expedition is of interest in that the Huguenots can be said to have been the first Presbyterians to come to New Brunswick shores. It is to be feared that the Protestants and Catholics in this expedition did not live in greatest harmony for Champlain complains that the minister and the curé would "attack each other with their fists upon the difference of religion." Gregg, Short History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, p. 2 & 3.

Huguenots and Roman Catholics. On the 24th of June of that year, the day of St. John the Baptist, they reached the mouth of the great river, called by Expedition from France to the Indians, Cuangondy, and in New Brunswick shores, 1604. honour of the day they renamed it, River St. John.¹ Later that year they removed to an island in the River St. Croix where they spent the winter. But there misfortune fell upon them. Almost half of them were carried away with the scurvy and the remnant, broken and discouraged, abandoned the island in the spring, crossed the Bay of Fundy to Port Royal, and later returned to France.

There is little more of a nature relative to the subject of this essay that need here be written until the middle of the following century. The intervening years had been years of intermittent struggle and warfare as England and France contended for the mastery of this colony in the new world. Then in 1749

Pre-loyalist settlements. Halifax was founded by Lord Cornwallis, in 1755 occurred the expulsion of the Acadians, three years later Louisburg fell, the following year Quebec was captured. The way was now clear for Nova Scotia (which at that time, as seen, included New Brunswick) to be settled with settlers of English origin. And in great numbers they came----from the New England states chiefly at first they came, from Connecticut, Rhode Island, and the interior hill districts of Massachusetts.² From Rhode Island it was in 1761 that a number of families came and settled at Sackville, from

1--Haliburton's History of Nova Scotia.

2--MacKinnon's Churches and Settlements in Nova Scotia, p. 22.

Massachusetts in that same year that settlers came to the townships of Manguerville and Sheffield on the River St. John. Then the following year "a trading post was established by New England merchants at the mouth of the St. John at Portland Point;"¹ the beginning of the city of St. John.

The years following the coming of the early pre-loyalist settlers until the close of the Revolutionary War were years of no very great increase either in the number of settlements or in the population of New Brunswick. True there were from time to time other settlers who joined their countrymen on the River St. John or in the district of Chignecto, a disbanded regiment² or so took up grants in this part and that, some Scotch families took up their homes in the districts of the Miramichi and the Restigouche where they followed the trades of lumbering and fishing;³ but on the whole the population of New Brunswick was⁴ but little increased.

Then in 1776 came the American Revolution. Many of the new maritime settlers were sympathizers with the revolutionaries; some of them even returned to their former homes in the New England States. Following the Revolution, in 1783 there was signed the Treaty of Peace between Britain and the United States. But

Coming of the Loyalists	many there were in that new nation just formed that would not give up their alleg- iance to Britain. And as for them
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1--MacKinnon, 27. It is interesting in passing to note that the first Protestant place of worship on the St. John was the Congregational Meeting-house at Manguerville and Sheffield, completed in 1776. MacKinnon, 76.

2--MacKinnon, 34.

3--MacKinnon, 53.

4--"The entire English speaking population on the St. John River townships prior to 1783 appears to have been about 1400." MacKinnon, footnote, page 53.

"there was nothing for it but that they should go into exile."¹
 So, organized by Sir Guy Carleton, to the Lower Province of British North America they came; came by the hundreds, came even by the thousands. On the 18th of May of that year it was that the first load of these United Empire Loyalists dropped anchor in the Harbour of St. John. It consisted of a fleet of twenty vessels containing 3,000 souls. A month later 2,000 more arrived to be followed in September by upwards of 3,000 more. Not only that but many of the Loyalists too stopped in the River St. Croix and the estimate for the year 1787 shows that there were in that year about 9,260 along the River St. John, 1,787 in Charlotte County, besides numbers of others in and about the district of Chignecto.

About this time also a number of regiments were disbanded, most famous of them the 42nd Highlanders who settled along the Nashwaak and who, many of them, later removed to the Miramichi.

The Loyalists had not been long settled in their new homes in what was then the northern part of Nova Scotia when they expressed a very strong desire to be set apart as a Province of

The name
 New Brunswick
 their own. So in March, 1784, the English cabinet decided to "set off that part of Nova Scotia north of the Bay of Fundy

into a province to be called 'New Ireland.' The name was changed a few weeks later to 'New Brunswick' as a compliment²

1--Hannay's History of New Brunswick, Vol. 1, page 129.

2--At this time the Province contained about 16,000 inhabitants of whom about 12,000 were Loyalists, 2,500 old inhabitants, former settlers, and an estimated number of about 1,500 French settled mostly along the Gulf of St. Lawrence and across the northern part of the Province. However, as Hannay suggests, (I, 142) there were no doubt a great many French people in the Province "of whom no account was taken."

to the reigning House of Brunswick."¹ At the time of its formation Parrrtown (now St. John) was made the capital of this new Province but the next year the Governor (Thomas Carleton, younger brother of Sir Guy Carleton) had the seat of government moved inland to St. Anne's, which, in honour of the Duke of York he renamed Fredericton. In the same year also, and by way of compensation, he gave to Parrrtown a charter of incorporation as a city and changed its name to St. John.

The closing years of the eighteenth century and the opening years of the nineteenth were years of rapid expansion. The Loyalists who had settled on the St. John had by now pushed out and had taken up homes on the more northerly reaches of that river in the districts in and around Woodstock. Many of them also had removed to the Miramichi while large numbers of them also had taken up farms in and about Sussex and along the rivers Kennebecasis and Petitcodiac. In the Charlotte County settlements too they had extended their borders and were spreading into the districts round about.²

The third "migration" to New Brunswick shores came following the first decade of the nineteenth century. From the standpoint of the Presbyterian Church in New Brunswick this is perhaps the most important of all for it consisted largely of Scottish and later of Irish settlers.² True, as has been seen, there were already a number of

1--MacKinnon, 57.

2--Wm. F. Ganong's, "A Monograph of the Origins of the Settlements in New Brunswick."

Scottish folk in the northern part of the Province, and about the beginning of the nineteenth century a number of Highland families had settled in St. James, also along the Miramichi at Tabusintac and Burnt Church, also a number of Ayrshire families had come out to the Restigouche; but on the whole there had been as yet no general migration from the Old Country to New Brunswick. But now the government began to offer encouragement to British settlers and that, with other causes, brought it about that the years from 1812 to 1850 have come to be known as the years of "active immigration to New Brunswick." At first, as suggested, many of the settlers came from Scotland. Then following 1819, due to the failure of the potato crop and other "bad economic conditions" the number of Irish settlers began rapidly to increase. They settled, many of them, in and about Grand Lake and in the more southerly part of the Province; many of them also no doubt remained and made their homes in the city of St. John.

Following the year 1850 and particularly after 1855 the number of immigrants to New Brunswick decreased very rapidly until the figures for 1859 show the arrival of only 230 persons for that year. And looking for the cause of this decrease, it is to be seen as due not so much to any fault of New Brunswick but rather to the increased attraction of the cities of America and to the call of the newly-opened prairies of the West.

Such then, in briefest outline, is the history of New Brunswick and its settlements from the earliest beginnings until the middle of the nineteenth century.

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II

History of Presbyterianism in Scotland.

Presbyterianism in New Brunswick owes its origin, its growth, its strength---owes even its divisions---to the Church in Scotland. Therefore to enable us to a better understanding of Presbyterianism in New Brunswick, there is here included in this historical introduction a brief history of the Scottish Church; more especially that part of it most directly related to the cause of Presbyterianism in New Brunswick.

The Presbyterian Church became the National Church of Scotland in the year 1560. Then it was that the great name in the land was the name of John Knox. The first General Assembly met in the Chapel of a Hospital dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene on the 20th of December, that year. The Assembly represented "particular Kirks of Scotland" and consisted of but forty-one members, only six of whom were ministers.

Early history of	Seven years later, in December, 1567,
the Church of Scotland	the National Church became the Established
	Church of Scotland. ¹

In 1572 Knox died and shortly following his death, and indeed, for over sixty years the Kirk of Scotland fell upon difficult days. James VI of Scotland---I of England---had always

¹--McCrie, p. 5.

Note: The books chiefly used in the preparation of this history are, McCrie's, The Church of Scotland, Her Divisions and (next page)

had a strong dislike for Presbyterianism. In time he forced his way: Prelacy supplanted Presbyterianism, and the fact that Presbyterianism was able to live at all through those trying years was due in large measure to men of the stamp of Andrew Melville, men of courage and intrepidity who feared neither king nor commoner in the struggle for the rights of Scotland's Kirk.

In the year 1637, however, matters reached a climax. Laud's liturgy, practically the same as that used in the Church in England, was to be introduced into the service in St. Giles in Edinburgh. This was too much for Scottish folk to endure. A riot ensued. A few months later, in February, 1638 the National Covenant was drawn up and signed. In this crisis of the history of the Kirk the man of the hour was one, Alexander Henderson, until then a humble minister over a long period of years in the Parish of Leuchars. In December of that year the General Assembly met. The bishops were deposed and the whole ecclesiastical structure which James and Charles had erected since 1597 repudiated.¹ This of course meant rebellion on the part of Scotland's Kirk, a rebellion however towards the quelling of which Charles, situated as he was at that time, was able to do but little. So for the next score of years the General Assembly virtually ruled the land. In 1645 the Assembly adopted the "Directory of Worship," a thoroughly Presbyterian 'system of things' drawn up the year before by the Westminster Assembly meeting in London in which Scotland was represented. Two years later there was adopted the Westminster Confession of Faith,² a

Unions; Walker's, A History of the Christian Church; Cunningham's, Church History of Scotland and M'Kerrow's Secession Church.

1--Walker, 470.

2--Walker, 471.

Confession which remains to this day as a part of Scottish and American Presbyterianism.

Thus for a time the Kirk of Scotland once more came into its own.

In 1660 came 'The Restoration.' Charles II, the covenanting King of Scotland, was now made King of England. The covenant he repudiated, and Parliament meeting shortly later in 1661, "with one wild and reckless blow" ¹ all acts affecting religious matters that had been passed since 1633 were annulled. In such manner therefore was Episcopacy restored to Scotland.

The years that followed the Restoration, in the nature of the case, could only mean persecution and suffering and often even death for those who, refusing to accept the system of Prelacy, retained their allegiance and their loyalty to the Church of Scotland. In the winter of 1663 a large number---some say 400, some 300, some 350---of the Church's ablest and best beloved ministers were forced to abandon their churches and manse^s and cast themselves and their families upon the sustaining and sheltering care of their covenant God. ² Still they continued to preach. Their church was the church of the hillsides---"the Church in the Fields." Crowds flocked to hear them preach, to partake of the sacraments from their hands. The penalty of death was the penalty for so preaching---later it was made the penalty even for attendance-----but nothing daunted they kept on. And the roll of the martyrs from "the killing times" is one of the bravest saddest pages in the history of Scotland's kirk.

1--McCrie, p. 20.

2--McCrie, p. 22.

It is at this period in the history of the Church of Scotland that the Cameronians, followers of Richard Cameron, emerge. They represented the more extreme and uncompromising side of Presbyterianism. Though hounded about the country by the armies of the king (Cameron himself was killed in 1680), though mercilessly persecuted, still they kept bravely to it, meeting in their "societies," upholding still the covenant. And even when the Revolution that placed William and Mary on the throne was over and done, even then, although ever loyal to the sovereign, did they refuse to acknowledge the rightful authority of any but a covenanting king; nor would they enter and make themselves a part of the state established Church of Scotland. In time they came to be called the Covenanters; came also later to be known¹ as The Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland.

The reign of the Stuarts came to an end with the Revolution in 1688. By it William III and Mary---thorough-going Protestants---came to the throne; and with them came religious toleration. And here, from the standpoint of Scotland's Kirk, if one man more than another can be said to have been the man of the hour that man was William Carstares who so worthily and even so persistently advocated the cause of the Church of Scotland before the King. In 1690 the Westminster Confession of Faith was ratified by Parliament, the ministers ejected thirty years before were restored, and the Presbyterian Church once more was established as the Church of Scotland.

1--The Reformed Church in Ireland can be said to have been a descendant of this Church. The Church in Ireland, early in the 19th century (between 1827 and 1845) sent out Revs. Clarke, Somerville, Stavely and Lawson who for longer or shorter periods ministered in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

The first Secession from the ranks of the Church of Scotland took place in the year 1733. "The grounds and reasons" of this

The Secession
of 1733. Secession may be said to have been two-fold; church doctrine and church polity.

Regarding the former there was a goodly number of the ministers of the Establishment who felt that that Church had dealt far too leniently with that "heresiarch of heresy," Professor John Simson of Glasgow. Then shortly after when there was republished in Scotland the book, "The Marrow of Modern Divinity," a book which proved to such notable men as Thomas Boston and James Hog to be a light in their darkness, a book also which throughout the land gave an impulse to evangelical preaching, the Assembly of 1720 condemned the book as containing teaching contrary to the standards of the Church.

Which fact brings us to the matter of church polity. For when twelve ministers, ministers among whom were such honoured names as the Erskines, Boston of Ettrick and others, drafted a remonstrance to the Assembly for so condemning the Marrow they were rebuked and admonished by the Moderator, and protesting, their protest the Assembly refused to hear.

But more serious in the matter of church polity than that, the first Seceders objected to the system of patronage in the Established Church---a system restored in 1712 to the Church of Scotland by Act of British Parliament. Though not at first abused, nevertheless with the passing of the years, more and more the patrons, regardless of the wishes of the people, were taking advantage of their powers. In the General Assembly of 1730 there were recorded

no fewer than twelve cases of such intrusion of ministers upon unwilling congregations.

Such then was the state of affairs when in August, 1732, it fell to Ebenezer Erskine, retiring Moderator, to preach the opening sermon of the meeting of the Synod of Perth and Stirling. Emphatically he expressed his disapproval of the evils existing within the Established Church. The Synod, after prolonged discussion, "carried a vote implying censure against the preacher, which, on appeal, was sustained by the next Assembly"¹ and Erskine was rebuked and admonished from the Moderator's chair. A protest, signed by himself and three others, was proferred. The Assembly referred the 'protestors' to the Commission of the Assembly for further dealing. The Commission, meeting in August, suspended them. Three months later, they having still continued to preach, the Commission loosed them from their charges and declared them to be "no longer ministers of this Church."² There was no other way for it now but to meet and form a Presbytery of their own. And

this they did on the 5th of December,
1733, at Gairney Bridge; and the
Presbytery so formed, consisting at the
first of but the four brethren, their names, Rev. Ebenezer
Erskine, Rev. William Wilson, Rev. Alexander Moncrieff and
Rev. James Fisher, they called 'The Associate Presbytery.'³

The Associate
Presbytery

The cause of the Secession Church grew. By 1745 the Associate Presbytery had become the Associate Synod; on its roll forty-three

1--McCrie, 59

2--McCrie, 60

3--M'Kerrow, 71, 72.

charges, thirty of them with ordained ministers.

Then in 1747 came the breach within their ranks, a breach occasioned by opposing views in regard to the taking of the Burgess Oath. This oath, affecting only Glasgow, Edinburgh and Perth, contained the following clause, "I profess and allow with my heart the true religion presently professed within this realm, and authorized by the laws thereof." Some there were who inter-

The General Associate Synod	<p>preted this oath as meaning loyalty to the Establishment which they had just left; others, as meaning an approval of true</p>
--------------------------------	--

religion itself, though not necessarily the manner in which it was presently professed. It was a very unfortunate division.

Twenty-three of the members of the Synod, those opposed to the taking of the oath, withdrew to convene again next morning in what they still called the Associate Synod. Later however they came to be called "The General Associate Synod," or, more popularly, "The Antiburghers." As to the other members of the Synod, thirty-two in all, they remained to carry on the work of the Synod. And ere long ~~too~~ they ~~too~~ were given a popular name, "The Burghers."

We need not here dwell upon the further divisions of these two Synods, divisions which affected but little if any the history of Presbyterianism in the Lower Provinces. But even at that it were not well that we should leave the story of the Secession Church without first bearing witness to its great and burning missionary zeal. In many of the colonies, long before the older and Established Church

had taken up the work the Secession missionary was on the ground, preaching the word, organizing the congregation, planting the Church. As to the Lower Provinces the great name of the Secession Church must always be that of Rev. James MacGregor, that stalwart missionary of the Antiburghers, whose long and toilsome missionary journeys and whose tireless labours in the Provinces must always be one of the great stories of early colonial Presbyterianism.

Though one Secession had taken place in the ranks of the Established Church, nevertheless the practice of patronage

The Relief Church still continued to be carried on. So when in 1752 an unwanted minister, by directions of Assembly, was to be inducted into the charge of Inverkeithing, Thomas Gillespie, among others, refused to take part in the service and the sentence of deposition was pronounced upon him. Thereafter for six years he stood alone, then, in 1761, two other ministers having joined him, the Presbytery of Relief was formed. Twelve years later it became a Synod. So, as the Relief Church of Scotland, it carried on for years, closing with union with the United Secession Church in 1847.

The years following the middle of the eighteenth century were strange years in Scottish ecclesiastical life. In the early part of that period the Moderate party, which in its time numbered among its followers some of the finest of scholars and historians, was in the ascendancy. No move however was made to abolish

patronage---missions were but hardly considered. Then as the century wore on a quiet evangelical revival seemed slowly yet no less surely to sweep over the Church. In 1793 the Tract Society was founded---three years later the Scottish Missionary Society sprang into activity----then in 1824 the claims of Foreign Missions were brought before the Assembly and cordially entertained---the next year in the West of Scotland the Glasgow Colonial Society, that Society to which colonial Presbyterianism will ever owe so much, was organized----then four years later Rev. Alexander Duff, the first foreign missionary of the Church of Scotland, set sail for India. Truly the evangelical movement---its leader now Rev. Thomas Chalmers---was sweeping through the Church of Scotland.

The year 1834 was a momentous year in the history of Scotland's Kirk. The Veto Act that year was passed, an Act by which the congregation could refuse to accept the patron's presentee. The Chapel Act also was passed by which ministers of Chapels of Ease, churches not erected in the usual way as parish churches, were given regular ecclesiastical standing and a seat in the Church Courts. And by the Acts of 1834 it was that there was precipitated the ten years conflict.

The first case to put to the test the Veto Act was that of Auchterarder. The patron's presentee, a Mr. Young, was vetoed by 287 out of 330 male heads of families. The Church Courts upheld the people's rights and the patron and presentee carried the case to the civil courts where the Court of Session returned

a verdict in their favour. The House of Lords also confirmed the finding of the Scottish judges. Thus had the State interfered with the freedom of the Church.

There were other places where the battle of the veto was fought. Suffice it here however to take up briefly but one other case; that of the Parish of Marnoch, Presbytery of Strathbogie. The presentee was a Mr. Edwards, a former assistant. Out of 300 male communicants, 261 vetoed his presentation. Again the Assembly upheld the people's rights. The majority of the Presbytery however were in favour of Mr. Edwards' induction and proceeded to take steps towards that end. They were accordingly, the seven of them who so favoured, suspended by the Assembly. But disregarding the Assembly and with the mandate of the civil court as their authority, in January of 1841, they proceeded to the induction of Mr. Edwards.

Such a state of affairs could not long continue in a Church possessing men of the convictions of such men as Chalmers, Candlish, Welsh. They could see no other course. Preparations were made for another and a greater Secession. The meeting of Assembly in 1842 adopted "The Claim of Rights," asserting the sole headship of Christ and affirming the right of the Church of Scotland to govern itself free and independent of the State. One last effort to obtain that freedom was made but to no avail. Final preparations therefore were made for the great Secession.

On the 18th of May, 1843, the Disruption occurred. The General Assembly met that year in St. Andrew's Church, Edinburgh, Dr. David Welsh in the chair. After prayer, a Protest, in substance a summary of the Claim of 1842 was read, following which the seceding ministers withdrew from the Assembly. And

when the Disruption was over and done and the "Act of Separation and Deed of Demission by Ministers" was signed it was found

Disruption of 1843 and organization of the Free Church of Scotland.

that 474 ministers had

separated from the

Establishment to form,

in Tanfield Hall, the first General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland.

What now of the effect of the Disruption upon the colonial Churches? There too we find, oftentimes most deeply, it left its mark. Synods, none too strong at best, were divided; each part looking to Scotland for help and strength. The Churches at Home as best they could stood by to help their daughter Churches. The Church of Scotland contributed generously of its means, sent out, too, a number of its ministers as deputations to encourage the brethren in the colonies---one especially long to be remembered, Norman MacLeod of the Barony. The Free Church too did its part---sent out its missionaries and its teachers---and so made its contribution---a great and worthy contribution too---to the cause of Presbyterianism in the Provinces by the sea.

Such then, and very briefly, is the history of Scottish Presbyterianism and especially that part of it affecting and contributing to the cause of Presbyterianism in New Brunswick.

The main body of this essay will take up in detail the story of that contribution---take up first the Secession Church---then pass on to that which in the early formative days made by far the greatest contribution of all---the Established Church of Scotland. Then a study of the Disruption in New Brunswick and the years shortly following---and the essay is done.

CHAPTER I.

The Contribution of the Secession Church.

The Secession Church of Scotland, always a great missionary Church, began its work in New Brunswick in the year 1797, in which year Rev. James MacGregor¹ of Pictou, that stalwart missionary of the 'Anti-burghers,'² in answer to a request made as early as 1791, visited the people of the Miramichi and conducted services among them.³ Rev. John MacCurdy⁴, years later, in writing of this visit of Rev. Mr. MacGregor in 1797, remarks that one sermon especially was remembered; a sermon from the text, Isaiah LV, 1 : 'Ho, every one that thirsteth---,' On this occasion, the letter continues,

1-- Rev. James MacGregor was born in Portmore, Perthshire, in December, 1759. He came to Pictou in 1786 and there he remained until his death in 1830. The story of his life and of his untiring labours is told in the book, "Memoir of the Rev. James MacGregor, D. D., Missionary of the General Associate Synod of Scotland to Pictou, Nova Scotia." The book is written by his grandson, Rev. George Patterson. (Henceforth this book will simply be referred to as 'Patterson.')

2-- Patterson, Page 315.

3-- It should here be mentioned that almost ten years before this, (in 1788) a minister of the Church of Scotland, Rev. James Fraser (formerly of St. John) had been stationed on the Miramichi. He was the first Presbyterian minister in that district, having been sent there as a teacher and missionary to the Indians. From letters, copies of which are still in existence (for extracts of letters relevant to Mr. Fraser, see Appendix I) we learn that Mr. Fraser remained in this district for over five years. Little, however, is known concerning his life and work, and what little we know is far from encouraging. Rev. James Thompson, in a letter to the Glasgow Colonial Society (Letter # 55, G. C. S. Correspondence, Book 1) refers to him as one who had been a Chaplain in the Revolutionary War, and who, having come to the Miramichi, left there again "due to some misconduct" after but a short stay in that district. And Patterson (Page 88) simply refers to him as an "indifferent character."

4-- Further reference to Rev. John MacCurdy will be made later in this chapter. For letter here referred to, see Patterson, Page 316.

"He preached and baptized at Black River, Bay du Vin, and on both sides of the Miramichi, up as far as the point, so called, at the junction of the North and Southwest Branches."

The result of this visit was an application to the General Associate Synod of Scotland from the "Ministers of the Associate Presbytery of Nova Scotia." The letter was dated, Pictou, February 5th, 1799.¹

Visits of Rev. James MacGregor to New Brunswick. "Though the people of Miramichi," so reads the communication,"be last in their application, yet they themselves consider their case as so deplorable above others, especially on account of the breaking dispensations they have met with,(2) that they are entitled to be first answered. And indeed it is hard to deny their claim."

From the same letter it appears that "Fraser, Thom & Co., respectable merchants in Miramichi," were willing to look after the cost of the passage of a missionary to them.³ But no missionary came to them in answer to their application, so when in 1802,⁴ Rev. John Urquhart of the Church of Scotland, who had been settled in the United States and later in Prince Edward Island, came to visit the Miramichi, he received a call and, having accepted it, he remained their minister until his death in 1814.⁵ Mr Urquhart has the distinction of being the minister of the first Presbyterian Church to be built, not only on the Miramichi,⁶ but (so far as we have any record) in the whole of the Province. The Church referred to was at Moorefield, which

1-- Patterson, P. 519. (Also a reference to this same letter on page 316 of Patterson and page 410 of McKerrow's Secession Church.)

2--Patterson also adds (page 316) that one of the 'breaking dispensations' here referred to was 'the misconduct of one an individual bearing the name of a minister , who had been stationed for a time among them.' This, without doubt, would be Rev. James Fraser.

3--Patterson 520.

4--Rev. James Robertson's, "History of the Mission of the Secession Church to N. S. and P. E. I." gives this as the date of his arrival in New Brunswick. The letter of Rev. James Thompson (# 55) in the G. C. S. Correspondence (Book 1) states that it was about 1802, while the Chatham Gazette of Oct. 18, 1911 places it 1803.

5--Letter of Rev. James Thompson, mentioned above.

6--Chatham Gazette, Oct. 16, 1911.

Church was later destroyed in the great Miramichi fire of 1825.¹

Returning again to the labours of Rev. James MacGregor, in the year 1805 he performed one of his longest and most interesting missionary journeys, namely, a visit to the settlements along the St. John River in the vicinity of Fredericton.² Interesting indeed is his own account of that journey as he describes his trip by 'The Bend' (now Moncton) and along the Kennebecasis River, meeting with many people who "never saw or heard a Presbyterian minister."³ He preached in and about Sheffield,⁴ also in a Highland settlement on the Nashwaak, opposite Fredericton. Fredericton, too, he visited,⁵ "but had no opportunity of preaching." Writing later of this journey, he states that Sheffield, where the Congregationalists have erected a Church and manse "would accept a Presbyterian minister, if he were not very rigid."⁶ But, as in the case of his former request, no minister was forthcoming, and, due to this utter destitution of ministers, Presbyterianism in New Brunswick, both then and even more⁷ so in later days, suffered irreparable loss.

In 1807,⁷ Dr. MacGregor paid his second visit to the Miramichi,⁸ following the same itinerary as that of his visit ten years before.

In the year 1815,⁹ Dr. MacGregor again visited New Brunswick, this time the settlements on the American border; St. Andrew's, Scoodic (now St. Stephen) and St. James. In the latter place, and with the aid of Neil Morrison, a pious man who with the reading of

1--A very interesting discovery (Chatham Gazette, Oct. 18, 1911) was made in 1911 by Rev. Mr. Henderson of St. Andrew's Church, Chatham. He was looking over some old magazines and "general rubbish" in one of the Church rooms, when he discovered two communion cups, which, when cleaned and polished, revealed the inscription, "Presbyterian Church Congregation, Miramichi, 1805."

2--Patterson, 339 ff. 3--Patterson, 351.

4--Sheffield it was that petitioned Dr. MacGregor to make this journey. Patterson, 339.

5--Patterson, 347. 6--Patterson, 351.

7--Patterson, 358. No particulars are given of this journey.

8--Patterson, 316. 9--Patterson, 402 ff.

sermons and the conducting of public prayers, kept Presbyterianism alive in that community, Dr. MacGregor conducted a very impressive communion service.¹ Then, after visiting again the other border towns and villages, he returned to Pictou going by way of St. John.

Returning to the work of the Secession Church on the Miramichi, in 1815, Dr. MacGregor writes of that district as follows:

"It was once under our inspection but they left us because we could do nothing for them. They got a Presbyterian minister who is now dead.⁽²⁾ At present they have a Baptist preacher, although they hold infant baptism almost necessary to salvation.⁽³⁾ Seeing Mr. Patrick, they have put themselves under our protection again.⁴

Again a petition was drawn up, a petition subscribed to by a number of "the most respectable people on the River."⁵ And this time they were more successful. For in answer to their application Rev. James Thompson,⁶ of Wamphray, Dumfriesshire, Scotland, was appointed and with his wife and family he arrived in Miramichi on the 22nd of September, 1816,⁷ and in August of the following

1--For more detailed account of early Presbyterianism in St. James, see chapter 5, pages 78 following.

2--Rev. James Thompson's letter (No. 55, Bk. 1, G.C.S. Corr.) states that, following Mr. Urquhart's death, a Mr. McQueen, one of Haldane's supporters, was engaged for a few years. However as his beliefs were not agreeable to the Presbyterians, many subscribed to his support for only one year. He held services at 'The Point' and in the Court House in Newcastle. He did not remain for long and his Newcastle services were taken over by Mr. Thompson.

3--The above letter also states that some of the Presbyterians on the Northwest Branch, where there was a Baptist Church, had become Baptists.

4--Patterson, 401. Mr. Patrick was passing through Miramichi on his way to Pictou Co. where he later became minister of Merigomish.

5--Thompson's letter as above. (Letter is dated June 15th, 1826)

6--Mr. Thompson was ordained Oct. 22nd, 1806. For a number of years before coming to New Brunswick he was minister of a congregation in Auchtergaven, Perthshire. But "adverse times set in," he became discouraged and resigned his charge. "In May, 1816, he was appointed to New Brunswick, from which an application for a minister had recently been received." Page 646 of "The History of the Congregations of the United Presbyterian Church from 1733 to 1900," (vol ii) by Rev. Robert Small.

7--Robertson, 251.

year was inducted by Dr. MacGregor and Rev. Mr. Keir into his new charge.¹ Before however we take up the story of his long and useful ministry in this charge let us pass on to tell the story of the progress of the Secession Church in another part of the Province.

In the year 1820, other ministers having come into the southern part of New Brunswick, an attempt Presbytery of St. Andrew's was made to form a Presbytery, the Presbytery of St. Andrew's, in connection with the Secession Synod of Nova Scotia. It is fully described in the minutes of that Synod, held in Truro, June, 1820.² It reads as follows:

^{3/6} "The Commission reported that at a meeting held in Truro, May 23rd, 1820, they had, in consequence of a petition to that end from James Wilson, minister at St. Andrew's, (^{4/3}) Sam'l Sturgeon, preacher of the Gospel at St. George, and William Fleming, preacher of the Gospel at Fredericton, (^{5/5}) enforced by a letter from Rev. John Cassel, St. Andrew's (^{6/6}) all in the Province of New Brunswick,

1--Robertson, p. 251.

2--The manuscript minutes of the Presbyterian Church in Nova Scotia, 1817--1845, are deposited in the vault of Pine Hill Divinity Hall, Halifax. Also another copy, written in a more legible hand, is to be found in the Legislative Building, Toronto.

3--Mr. Wilson was from the North of Ireland. (See also page 79)

4--Little is known of Messrs Sturgeon and Fleming. There is a reference in 'Croil' (p. 289) to a Mr. Fleming, who, about this time was teacher and local preacher at Woodstock, about 60 miles above Fredericton.

5--In a letter from Dr. MacGregor to Mr. Keir (Patterson, 408) there is a reference to the "ordination of Mr. John Cassel and his settlement at Windsor and Newport. He comes from Fife, studied at St. Andrew's, and was licensed by our Presbytery here." The meeting of Synod in Truro in 1817 appointed him to "go to Sheffield and preach in that country as many Sabbaths as he can make it convenient." From Windsor he removed to New Brunswick.

6--The Commission (consisting, among others, of Dr. MacGregor) was appointed in 1819 "for managing such matters of general importance and requiring immediate attention as may occur during the interval of Synod."

constituted the said Messrs. Wilson, Sturgeon and Fleming a Presbytery in connection with and in subordination to, this Synod; and that they had instructed Mr. Thompson of the Miramichi to co-operate with them as a corresponding member. The Synod pronounced no

Suspension of Commission, but agreed that, as the Rev. John the powers of Gamble, from New Brunswick, and in some measure the Presbytery connected with the aforementioned brethren, and of St. Andrew's. in some measure recommended by the Revs. Messrs.

Wilson and Cassel, was present at their sederunt of Synod, and was, in the view of the whole Synod, so drunk that he could not keep his seat, the powers of the said Presbytery in New Brunswick be suspended until the aforesaid matter be satisfactorily cleared up; like as the Synod did and hereby do, suspend the power of the said Presbytery."

The next year (1821) at the meeting of the Synod in Truro in the latter part of June, "a petition was read from the Rev. James Wilson, in the name of the Presbytery of New Brunswick, praying that the suspension of the said Presbytery's power may be removed." A committee of six was appointed to meet with Mr. Wilson and to report the next day. Following is the relative part of the minutes of the following day:

"The committee appointed to converse with Mr. Wilson advised the Synod to send a commission of its members to inspect the state of the churches in New Brunswick, and authorized it to act as they shall see cause. The Synod adopted the proposed measure, and Rev. Duncan Ross, (1) James Robson, (2) and John Sprott (3) were appointed a commission to proceed for this purpose to St. Andrew's and other parts of New Brunswick."

The following year the Synod met again in Truro, (June 26th, 1822) and the minutes in regard to the findings of the Commission read as follows:

"The commission sent to New Brunswick reported that, upon their arrival in that Province they found that the Rev. James Wilson had, by public advertisement, summoned the ministers and preachers in connection with the Synod to meet them at St. Andrew's on Saturday, the 25th of August.

That, having accordingly met at St. Andrew's on the said 25th of August, the Rev. William Fleming and Mr. Samuel Sturgeon appeared before them; that Mr. Fleming produced his credentials as a preacher of the Gospel, and also the minutes of the Presbytery stating that

1--Of West River, Pictou. Co. (Gregg's History of the Presbyterian Church to 1834, P. 106.)

2--Of Pictou, formerly of Halifax. (Gregg, 91)

3--Memorials of Rev. John Sprott, by his son, Geo. W. Sprott.

he had been regularly ordained, but not to any particular charge; and that Mr. Sturgeon stated that he had regular credentials as a preacher of the Gospel, but had not brought them along with him, not being aware that they would be required. The commission also reported that the Rev. James Wilson, in consequence of whose request and representations they had been sent to New Brunswick and who had publically advertised the meeting of that day, neither appeared personally before the commission, nor sent them any communication whatever: and that, taking these things into consideration, they found that the suspension of which he, the said James Wilson, had complained of could not be removed."

"The conduct of the commission was approved," so the minutes relative to New Brunswick conclude,"and the Synod, taking Mr. Wilson's conduct into consideration, disclaimed all connection with him,(1) and they also declared that the Rev. John Cassel,(2) the Rev. James Thompson and the Rev. Wm. Fleming are the only ministers in New Brunswick with this Church; and they directed that publicity be given to this statement as they understood Mr. Wilson still professes to be a minister of their communion."

And so ends the history of the short-lived Presbytery of St. Andrew's.

Of these early Secession ministers in New Brunswick, the name of Rev. James Thompson stands out as the most important, indeed, as the only important name in connection with that Church. His principal charge was in Chatham,³ but it was not long before he began holding services in the Court House in Newcastle,⁴ also at other places along the river. "He was indefatigable in his labours, affable and kind in his manner and universally respected."⁵

1--Rev. James Wilson applied to the Synod meeting in Pictou in 1804 for his credentials. As the minutes of Synod show, he received but little satisfaction.

2--Rev. John Cassel (or Cassilis) later joined the Synod of the Church of Scotland. See pages 118, 119 of Chapter 7.

3--There is reason to believe that for the first few years Mr. Thompson must have found the work very discouraging. In the collections of the N. B. H. S., Vol. 1, p. 158, there is recorded a request from the Congregationalists of Sheffield made in 1819 that he should become their minister due to the fact that he would soon be "under the painful necessity of leaving Miramichi for want of a comfortable support."

4--Thompson's letter, G.C.S. Corr. No. 55, Book 1.

5--Robertson, p. 251, 252.

The records also show Rev. James Thompson to be a man deeply in sympathy with the closer harmony of the Secession Church and the Established Church of Scotland. From the questions Thompson¹ which he asks in a letter written June 29th, 1824, to of Chatham² Dr. MacGill, of the University of Glasgow, it would seem that he was even desirous himself of being taken under the wing of the "Auld Kirk." In any case, and more particularly in the latter part of his ministry, he kept in closest touch with the Established Church, and in this same letter he expresses his desire for a minister for Newcastle, where by his "Court House" services he has not only been "holding the fort" but has also been able to see such an interest aroused that "a public meeting was called, trustees were chosen and a subscription entered into for erecting a Church which amounted to 1000 Pounds currency."³ (Unfortunately, the Church begun and indeed almost completed, of which the foundation stone was laid in the spring of 1825 by Sir Howard Douglas,⁴ the Lieutenant Governor, was burned to the ground in the great fire of the Miramichi which broke out in October of that year.)

Meanwhile Mr. Thompson had taken the matter of this closer harmony between the two Churches up with the Synod of Nova Scotia

1--This letter is to be found in Book 1, of the G. C. S. Correspondence. (Letter # 4.) It is also to be found in the Edinburgh Christian Instructor, issue of March, 1825.

2--Dr. MacGill was Professor of Divinity, Glasgow. He, among others, was on the commission that sent Rev. Alexander MacLean to St. Andrew's. He was a member of the Church of Scotland, of the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, and was present at the meeting in April, 1824 at which the formation of the Glasgow Colonial Society was considered.

3--In this same letter (# 4, Bk. 1.) Thompson states the qualifications for a man for the "Miramichi meridian" to be as follows, "He ought to be a good preacher, not a reader----evangelical---pious and intelligent, well-grounded in Presbyterian principles; liberal with regard to other denominations, endowed with a considerable portion of a missionary spirit---able to undergo considerable fatigue. Also--it would be an advantage that he should not be very young. The state of society here would require a man of some experience."

4--Croil's article in the December issue of The Presbyterian, 1875.

and the following is a part of the minutes of that Synod for 1823:¹

"Received from the committee of bills and overtures, and read, an overture from the Rev. James Thompson respecting coalition with the Established Church of Scotland."

This overture was referred to a committee of the whole, and Dr. MacGregor and Mr. Ross were appointed a committee to correspond with the United Associate Synod of Scotland on the subject, with the result that when, the following year, the letter from the Scottish Synod was read, Mr. Thompson's overture was dismissed, and instructions were given to write Mr. Thompson "a brotherly letter on the subject."²

In 1825 Mr. Thompson again wrote a representative of the Church of Scotland, which letter is included in the correspondence of the Glasgow Colonial Society.³

"Am writing" so the letter runs," to enquire re the Society lately formed, on the advice of Sir Howard Douglas, who wanted me and mine to come under the wing of said society; but my session wanted to ask---if it will countenance and admit any clergyman in this country who belonged formerly to any of those classes called Dissenting Presbyterians in Scotland, who, with their congregations wish to join the Society and conform to its rules and regulations----"

The letter also asks if the people will be able to choose their own minister, and, having pointed out that the causes of separation which obtain in Scotland do not prevail in New Brunswick, the letter concludes with a reference to the great fire of a few weeks before and then goes on to tell of the destitution and the lack of ministers in many of the needy places round about.

1--Synod met in Pictou that year.

2--Synod also met in Pictou in 1824. At this Synod meeting reference is also made to the destitution and the need of ministers for Bay Chaleur, Miramichi, Richibucto--, a place above Fredericton and Sussexvale.

3--Letter dated Nov. 25th, 1825. See Letter # 29, Book 1 of G. C. S. Correspondence.

In the year 1826, Rev. Mr. Thompson was joined by another minister of the Nova Scotia Synod----Rev. John MacLean, M. A., who

Rev. John MacLean took up his work in Richibucto in the summer of that year. Rev. Mr. MacLean¹ was of Richibucto.

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1--For the story of his life, see article of Rev. A. Blaikie in The Christian Instructor and Missionary Register of the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia, Jan. and Feb. issues, 1857.

2--Gregg, 252.

Robertson, 252.

4--See minutes of Synod. Synod met in Pictou that year.

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low with a hemorrhage of the lungs. During the early months of 1831 he travelled throughout the New England States hoping to

regain his strength. In May of that year he resumed his pastoral labours again. All through the year of 1832 his health was most uncertain, and, following a bad attack of pleurisy, he resigned from his charge in Richibucto in the spring of 1833. He removed to Halifax, and later to Pictou, where he died, January 20th, 1837.

Meanwhile, on the 11th of November, 1830, Rev. James Thompson, in the 51st year of his age, had passed away.¹ And, unhappily, with his passing, a very unfortunate dispute arose as to the ownership of the Church of which he had been the pastor; whether it belonged to those who had now declared themselves for the Church of Scotland or² to those who retained their allegiance to the Presbyterian Church in Nova Scotia. The former seized the Church³ "vi et armis" but were forced to pay \$800.00 damages to the adherents of the Church of the "Church of Nova Scotia," who, from this and other sources,⁴ erected "a very beautiful building with a very handsome spire."⁵

Mr. Thompson was succeeded by Rev. John MacCurdy, a native of Nova Scotia who took up his work in Chatham in the summer of 1831. And in the spring of the following year, the Rev. James

1--Robertson, 252.

2--The G. C. S. in its 6th annual report (1832) disclaimed any share in the rearrangement of matters pertaining to the Church life of Chatham. See Chapter 4 (p. 59)

3--Croil's article in the December Presbyterian of 1875, p. 293.

4--Robertson, 252.

5--According to Blaikie's life of MacLean, he was called to this charge in the spring of 1831, but he refused the call.

6--Born in Cnslow, 1808, licensed in 1831. He served for a time in Halifax to a small congregation afterwards to become Poplar Grove Church. Following his settlement in Chatham, he married the daughter of Rev. James Thompson and remained pastor here until his death on the 1st of January, 1868. Gregg, 259.

Waddell¹ was "admitted to the pastoral charge of the congregation of New Mills and Bathurst."²

The Presbytery of Miramichi. There being now three ministers in the northern part of New Brunswick, at the meeting of the Synod of Nova Scotia in Pictou, in June, 1832, "it was unanimously agreed that the congregations of Miramichi, Richibucto, New Mills and Bathurst, with their respective ministers,³ be separated from the Presbytery of Pictou and formed into a distinct Presbytery to be called the Presbytery of Miramichi, and their first meeting was appointed to be held in Miramichi on the Monday after the first dispensation of the Lord's Supper at that place,----the Rev. John MacLean to be Moderator."

The following year (1833),"the Presbytery of Miramichi reported to the Synod that they had admitted Rev. A. F. MacCabe⁴ to the pastoral charge of the congregation of New Carlisle and New Richmond, His name was ordered to be added to the roll, and, being called, he was present."⁵ Mr. MacCabe's pastorate at New Richmond and New Carlisle, however, was of very short duration, for the following year (1834)⁶ the Synod had to deal with an overture from the Presbytery of Miramichi in regard to Mr. MacCabe for having left his charge and having failed to keep his promise to them "to return

1--James Waddell, born Eruro, 1805. Licensed there, 1830 and ordained at Pictou, July 1831. Came to New Mills and Bathurst in the spring of 1832. Gregg, 259.

2--From the minutes of the Nova Scotia Synod meeting in Pictou, June 26th, 1832. These minutes also refer to the ordination of Rev. John MacCurdy "to the pastoral charge of Miramichi."

3--Revs. John MacCurdy, John MacLean and James Waddell.

4--Rev. Anthony MacCabe, like Rev. John MacCurdy and Rev. James Waddell, received his training in Pictou Academy.

5--From the minutes of the Nova Scotia Synod meeting in Pictou, June 25th, 1833.

6--From the minutes of the Nova Scotia Synod meeting in Pictou, June 25th, 1834.

the first of March.¹ So the Synod of 1835 dissolved the pastoral relationship, stating that, should he apply, he would receive no certificate from them.

Meanwhile misfortune was attending the efforts of Rev. Mr. MacLean and Rev. Mr. Waddell. The Synod of 1834 refers to the former being loosed from his charge, due, as has been seen, to ill-health. The same Synod also refers to the departure of Mr. Waddell from the congregation of New Mills and Bathurst after a brief pastorate of but two years. The Secession cause in that field was not strong enough to support a minister, and also there was an agitation on foot in that district for a minister from the Church of Scotland.²

So, with the departure of Revs. MacLean, MacCabe and Waddell,³

1--Rev. James Souter, minister of the Church of Scotland in Newcastle, writing to the G. C. S. (G. C. S. Correspondence, Letter # 54, Book 6 and dated June 19th, 1834) refers to the fact that Mr. MacCabe "from some misconduct prior to his marriage, thought proper to remove quietly out of the way."

2--Souter's letter # 145, Book 5, G. C. S. Correspondence and dated June 15th, 1833 refers to the low condition of Mr. Waddell's work in New Mills and Bathurst, while his letter # 54, Book 6 refers to his departure, due to the fact that most of the Presbyterians in that district favored the Church of Scotland.

3--Before leaving the history of the Secession Church, it should be noted that Croil, in his article in the December issue of the Presbyterian (1875) and Gregg in his history (page 261) make reference to another Secession minister in New Brunswick, namely Rev. Daniel MacCurdy, elder brother of Rev. John MacCurdy. After a pastorate of two years in Prince Edward Island, he came in 1834 to New Brunswick, where he was occupied as a teacher and also as a missionary. At Nashwaak (a settlement sixteen miles north of Fredericton, and wholly peopled by Scotch farmers, descendants of the soldiers of the gallant forty-second regiment who were discharged at the close of the American War of 1776) he preached regularly for nearly two years before returning again to Nova Scotia. In that settlement he laid the foundation of a congregation which afterwards elected to have a minister of the Church of Scotland set over them. But it was not until 1855, with the coming of Rev. Peter Keay, that they obtained an answer to their request.

with no successors forthcoming to the charges thus left vacant, the Presbytery of Miramichi ceased to be, and the Rev. John MacCurdy, for the next thirty and more years until his death in 1868, was the sole representative of the Secession Church in New Brunswick. The history of Presbyterianism in New Brunswick from 1835 on (apart from two or three Reformed Presbyterian Churches of Irish descent)¹ is a history dealing with the labours of the ministers of the Established Church, and later also of the Free Church.

¹--See pages 10 and 65 (foot note)

CHAPTER II.

Earliest Beginnings of the Church of Scotland in New Brunswick.

As the heroes of the Mayflower brought to New England shores the principles of Puritanism, so the Loyalists brought to the shores of New Brunswick the principles of the Presbyterian Church.

Early Presbyterianism in St. John "A vast proportion of these leal-hearted refugees," so Dr. Burns affirms, "were Scottish and American Presbyterians or Congregationalists, attached to the same standards of theology and the same forms of worship, though differing in some respects as to church government." ¹ It was in the spring of 1783 that they, the first Loyalists, landed in St. John. And on the 28th of October of that year a request was made to the Government by those "educated in the Principles of the National Church of Scotland----and others" for "Public Grounds to be laid out for Burying Grounds and erecting a Church." ² On the 18th of May, 1784, (the first anniversary of the landing of the Loyalists), the Presbyterians of St. John convened a meeting and formally organized themselves

1--Colonial Sketches, Scottish Christian Herald, by Dr. George Burns, first minister of St. Andrew's Church, St. John. Issue of August 25th, 1838, p. 533.

2--History of St. Andrew's Church, St. John, by D. R. Jack, p. 4.

into a congregation.¹ The next month their petition was acceded to and a grant of land issued to them under the Grand Seal of Nova Scotia, dated June 29th, 1784.² The land thus granted was located on Queen St.³ and there the foundation of a Church was laid, but that Church was never completed.⁴ The Government refused to further aid or help the people and they themselves could not afford to go on with the work. Appeals which were made to the Home Church in Scotland were either neglected or rejected, and thus, through parental neglect, the great opportunity was lost of establishing a church in St. John which, Dr. Burns affirmed, would have embraced in its communion almost the whole of the Protestant population.⁵

The first name of a Presbyterian minister in St. John of which we have any authentic record is the name of Rev. James Fraser.⁶ On the 1st of October, and in his absence Rev. James Fraser (though "at his particular request")⁷ a memorial was drawn up by the subscribers of Mr. Fraser, which memorial requested the "Honorable Board of Commissioners for propagating the Gospel among the Indian natives in America" that they should give Mr. Fraser a "mission" as an instructor

1--Jack, 4.

2--When, that same year New Brunswick became a separate province, this grant was registered at Fredericton, Dec. 23rd, 1784. (Jack, 6.)

3--The Scottish Christian Herald (June 9th, 1838) refers to this grant of land as being "situated at an inconvenient distance from the denser population," and this (with the other difficulties here mentioned) made impossible the building and completion of a church.

4--Scottish Christian Herald, June 9th, 1838.

5--Scottish Christian Herald, June 9th, 1838.

6--A footnote to a letter (Page 384, Winslow Papers) states, 'Reverd James Fraser (or Frazer) was the first Presbyterian minister to officiate at St. John. He was also the first of that denomination at Miramichi. He was educated at the University of Edinburgh, and seems to have come to Nova Scotia about the time of the Revolutionary War.'

7--N. B. H. S., Vol. 2, Page 117. (Jack, 7 and 8)

among the Indians of New Brunswick.

Sometime in the autumn of that year Mr. Fraser arrived in St. John¹, and the St. John Gazette of October 24th, 1786, makes the following reference to him and to his coming:

"Those gentlemen who wish and intend to encourage the Rev. Mr. Fraser to settle in this city, are requested to meet at the Coffee House tomorrow evening at 7 o'clock. It is expected every person thus inclined will not fail to attend, that it may be known with certainty what salary will be promised Mr. Fraser. (2)

Very little is known of the work of Mr. Fraser in St. John. In one of his letters, written in July of 1787, he states that ever since his arrival in that city, he has been "usefully employed as a Presbyterian Minister of the Gospel."³ And that he wished to remain as long as possible in that city is evident from the fact that when word reached him of his appointment as Instructor and Missionary to the Indians of the Miramichi, he wrote to see if his residence at that place was "indispensable."³ From the same letter we learn that his reason for not wanting to remove to the Miramichi was that he had hopes of opening a school⁴ in St. John for the teaching of the classics, etc. His hopes, however, in that direction were but short-lived, and the results⁵ fell far short of his expectations. So, late in the spring of

1--N. B. H. S., Vol. 2, p. 66. From the same volume (p. 119) it appears that Mr. Fraser had done "some ministerial work at Digby and Annapolis."

2--N. B. H. S., Vol. 2, p. 116.

3--N. B. H. S., Vol. 2, p. 117 and 118. Letter dated July 12th, 1787. Also found in 'Jack' p. 9 and 10. (Interesting, too, in this connection, is a letter in 'Jack' (p. 13 & 14) in which Rev. Geo. Bisset, of Trinity Church, writing under date of July 4th, 1787, states that the Scotch Dissenters who had attended his services during the past winter, had now a teacher of their own persuasion. The above statement, as can be seen, makes it all the more difficult to know just the exact time at which Mr. Fraser began holding his services in St. John.)

4--In a letter, dated May 3, 1788, (N. B. H. S., Vol. 2, p. 118) Mr. Fraser states as his motive for opening the school, "compassion for the Youths who had been left destitute of a teacher by the death of Rev. Mr. Bissett." See also 'Jack' p. 11 & 12.

5--Same letter as above, dated May 3, 1788. (N. B. H. S., Vol. 2, p. 118.)

1788, as has been seen in a previous chapter, Mr. Fraser removed¹ to the Miramichi and there took up his work among the Indians.

In that same year (1788) Rev. Charles William Milton² was sent out to Nova Scotia by the Countess Huntingdon, of England. But

it is not long before we have mention of his name as Charles W.

Milton³ being a minister in New Brunswick, and later in St.

John, where, according to Jack's History, there⁴ appears reason to believe that he ministered to the Presbyterians.

Although we know but little of his work, he has left behind a⁵ very interesting letter in booklet form, describing the conversion of two prisoners in St. John prison and of his visits to them in the latter part of 1789. The same book⁶ makes reference to his ministry to a crowded chapel in the city of St. John.

He was a very eccentric character, was Mr. Milton, both in appearance and in dress. On the 20th of March, 1791, he was ordained pastor of 'Fourth Religious Society,' of Newburyport, Mass., which society was a "dissatisfied portion" of First Presbyterian Church in that city.

1--In the letter written May 3, 1787 (N. B. H. S., Vol. 2, p. 118) Mr. Fraser states that he was prevented from leaving St. John sonner by "the long indisposition of Mrs. Fraser in and after the Small-pose."

2--Although Mr. Milton was not connected with the Scottish Church, still this brief account of him is inserted as being of interest in the study of the history of St. Andrew's Church.

3--On the 22nd of July, 1788, the Congregationalists of Sheffield requested a Mr. James and a Mr. Milton to supply them with preaching alternately. (N. B. H. S., Vol. 1, p. 131.)

4--'Jack' p. 39.

5--"Narrative of the gracious dealings of God in the conversion of two malefactors." The booklet is a letter written to the Countess Dowager of Huntingdon and dated January 16th, 1790.

A copy of the booklet is in the Public Library, Toronto. From it we learn that Mr. Milton came out in 1788. (Footnote, p. 21.)

6--Letter received from Alex. G. Perkins of Newburyport (Sept. 30, 1929). He obtained his information from Smith's History of Newburyport.

There is but little to be written on the history of Presbyterianism in St. John in the years following 1791 until the year 1814. Dr. Burns, in his articles in the Scottish Christian Herald, laments the low ebb of religious life in this new country during those years, due, in large measure to the fanaticism of the "New Lights and other misguided religionists" who overran the earlier Protestant settlements.¹ Among the religious adventurers, so the articles state, there were ministers who called themselves Presbyterians, but whose character was such that they only brought a reproach upon the cause which they represented.² The result was that, during those years, many of the leading Presbyterians joined themselves to other denominations, particularly, it would seem, they attended, many of the more prominent of them, at the worship of "Old Trinity."³ And there is a record of two of the "most representative Scotchmen" not only worshipping at Old Trinity but also of them as taking their places as members of its corporation.⁴ And when in 1804 the organ which was presented by John Black, a Scottish Episcopalian, arrived in a ship of Mr. Pagan's, he (Mr. Pagan) remitted the freight, 100 pounds.

However by the year 1814⁵ the Presbyterians of St. John, their numbers having increased, became eager to worship in a 'Kirk' of their own, after the manner of their Fathers. The lot of land de-

1--Scottish Christian Herald, June 9th, 1838.

2--Scottish Christian Herald, Aug. 25th, 1838.

3--Jack, p. 88.

4--John Willet's manuscript scrap book in St. John Library, chap. 1.

5--As suggested on a previous page, Dr. Burns in his article of June 9th, 1838, refers to the fact that if the Presbyterians had had the chance that was given to the Episcopalians and that "had a moderate share of state favour and of Christian liberality in the Mother Country been extended to the earlier colonial struggles, it would have meant a strong Presbyterian Church in St. John through the years before 1814."

Scribed in the Royal Grant, having been deemed unsuitable, the land then chosen was that site of land whereon St. Andrew's Church stands to this day. It was conveyed to Mr. James Grigor for that Church by John L. Venner, in consideration of the sum of 250 Pounds, paid therefore and granted by the House of Assembly of New Brunswick.¹

Plans for the building of a Kirk were made early in that year (1814) as can be seen from the following advertisement which appears in the Courier, one of the leading papers in the city at that time:

"Those gentlemen who have subscribed towards the erection of a Presbyterian Church in this city are requested to meet at the Coffee House next Saturday evening at 7 o'clock, in order to appoint a committee."²

"St. John, N. B., 5th January, 1814."

A few weeks later tenders were called for for the building of the "foundation walls of the Presbyterian Church." Building of And so on through the months of 1814 and the the Church. early months of 1815 the building of the Church progressed. By May of the year 1815 it was ready for occupation. However as no stated minister had been called to the pulpit, Rev. John Waddell, Secession minister of Truro, supplied the Kirk between the interval of its completion and the arrival of Dr. Burns.³ Dr. Burns arrived in St. John on the morning of Sunday, the 25th of May, 1817, and he preached his first sermon in the new church that evening.⁴

1--Willet's Manuscript Scrap-book, pages 6 and 7.

2--'Jack', p.40

3--'Jack', pages 40 and 50. Rev. John Waddell was a brother to Rev. James Waddell, at one time Secession minister in Bathurst. This information is also contained in 'The Telegraph-Journal' (St. John) under date of Dec. 17th, 1930, in the column 'Linking the Past with the Present,' by E. S. Carter.

4--'Jack,' p. 52; Fasti VII, p. 609; Scottish Christian Herald, Aug. 25th, 1838.

1

The story of the ministry of Dr. Burns has been quite fully taken up in Jack's, "History of St. Andrew's Church." However, with the finding of the articles in the Scottish Rev. George Burns
2
 Christian Herald already referred to, much new and interesting material relative to that ministry has come to light. In one of the articles Dr. Burns tells of his efforts to have the singing of the Psalms restored to its proper place in the worship in place of Watts' hymns and such other forms of ranting music "to which the harp of the son of Jesse was never strung." The article continues:

"On the occasion of the opening of our first Church in New Brunswick a band of leading choristers offered their services, but by the return of another Sabbath, the precentor and desk were fully and permanently established, and no American usage was retained." (3)

Again, in another article, Dr. Burns laments the falling away of the Scottish settlers from attendance at the Communion service.
4
 And, indeed, in examining these articles of Dr. Burns' it would seem that his ministry in St. John was the ministry of one ever trying to restore the solemnities and dignities of the Scottish Church and the Scottish Sabbath into the life of this new country.

1--Rev. George Burns was born in Borrowstounness, Scotland, Oct. 12th, 1790, youngest of eight sons, four of whom became ministers of the Established Church of Scotland. He was educated at the University of Edinburgh and ordained by the Presbytery of Aberdeen, Feb. 19th, 1816. A year later he received his D. D. from St. Andrew's University, and soon after sailed for St. John. Fasti Ecclesiae Scotianae, Vol. I, 296, Vol. VII, 609.

2--There are three articles relative to New Brunswick in these 'Colonial Sketches' to be found in various issues of the Scottish Christian Herald for the years 1838 and 1839. (New College Library, University of Edinburgh.)

3--Issue of August 25th, 1838.

4--Issue of February 9th, 1839.

Dr. Burns and his congregation of St. Andrew's in St. John sought to keep in as close relationship as possible with the Mother Church in Scotland. To this end, at a meeting of Session, held in August of 1819, it was-----

---unanimously resolved, to present a Memorial to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, as a constituent part of the National Church, and as the Metropolitan Church, and as the Metropolitan Presbytery of Scotland, with the view of obtaining for St. Andrew's Church, in this city, that protection and guardianship which has been extended to similar establishments in India. The Presbytery of Edinburgh will then be the Court of Appeal from the Kirk Session, in all matters of an ecclesiastical nature and from it to the General Assembly of Scotland and the Parliament of Great Britain the course is direct. Thus will the Presbyterian Church of St. John be the only regularly constituted Scotch Church in the British Provinces, and its connection with the Parent Establishment maintained and perpetuated."(1)

Dr. Burns was a man of strong conviction and was uncompromising in his loyalty to the Scottish Establishment, and on occasion was ready to defend the same against those who would seek to give it second place.² But with all his uncompromising firmness, the heart of Dr. Burns was a heart of great kindness. "He was the first friend I had in the new world," writes Rev. John Sprott. "His house is the very temple of hospitality, and he is the constant friend of Scottish ministers."³

⁴In the year 1826 Dr. Burns returned to Scotland "where he made effective appeals on behalf of the Scottish colonists in British America."⁵ And from time to time he made missionary tours to various parts of the Province, to places as widely separated from each other as Richibucto in the East,⁶ to St. Andrew's in the

1--'Jack,' p.73.

2--'Episcopalian Controversy with Rev. J. Milne, M. A., Rector of Fredericton, New Brunswick,' by Dr. George Burns.

3--'Memorials of the Rev. John Sprott,' p. 28.

4--The next year (August 6th, 1827) Dr. Burns married Esther Crawford White, Edinburgh. (Fasti I, p. 296)

5--'Gregg,' p. 265.

6--Christian Instructor and Missionary Monthly, January, 1857.

¹West. The following tribute to his ministry (which tribute also makes passing reference to the above-mentioned missionary tours) is taken from Gregg's History,² and Gregg in turn quotes from a letter written by a son of the Rev. John Sprott.³

"There is no doubt," so reads the letter, "that Dr. Burns' name occupies the most prominent place in connection with the Scottish Church in New Brunswick. He not only ministered very acceptably to a very influential congregation in St. John, but made missionary tours through the Provinces, and was probably the first of the Colonial ministers to publish sermons and prayers (4) for the use of Scottish emigrants, to be read by laymen where there was no regular clergyman. I know that after nearly fifty years his name is held in great honour in that part of the world, and that his personal friends there always cherished the warmest feelings towards him."

In the year 1831⁵ Dr. Burns returned to Scotland and on the 3rd of November of that year was admitted to the Established Church at Tweedsmuir.⁶ At the time of the Disruption he threw in his lot with the Free Church and later became the minister of that Church at Corstorphine.⁷ He died in Edinburgh, February the 5th, 1876.⁸

1--On the occasion of the Rev. John Martin of Halifax passing through St. John (1829) Dr. Burns was absent on a visit to Mr. MacLean's congregation in St. Andrew's, Charlotte Co. (Fourth Annual Report of the Glasgow Colonial Society.)

2--Gregg, p. 266.

3--Rev. Geo. Sprott, minister at North Berwick.

4--List of Dr. Burns' publications: Essay on Infant Baptism (Edinburgh, 1810), A dissertation on the subject and modes of Baptism; A View of the Principles and Forms of the Church of Scotland; Episcopalian Controversy with Rev. J. Milne, M. A., Rector of Fredericton, New Brunswick; Ecclesiastical Polity in the British Colonies; Lectures and Sermons delivered in the Scots Church of St. John (St. John, 1820); Prayers adapted for Public Worship, etc.--, (St. John, N. B., 1829); wrote also; The Happiness of Holiness; The Cheerfulness of a Christian Life--1875.

5--Fasti, p. 609, Vol. VII.

6--Fasti, p. 609, Vol. VII.

7--Croil, Dec. issue of Presbyterian, 1875. p. 266

8--Fasti, p. 296, Vol. I.

We have already had mention of St. Andrew's in connection with the Secession Church of Nova Scotia----for St. Andrew's

St. Andrew's, had long been the home of many Presbyterian families. As early as the year 1786, and Charlotte Co. almost thirty years before the visit of the Rev.

James MacGregor, there is a reference to the fact that when in that year (1786) a Rev. Mr. Andrews, of the Anglican Church, arrived there, he was forced to admit that "owing to the fact that most of the inhabitants of St. Andrew's professed the Presbyterian faith, the number of (Anglican) communicants remained small, but baptisms, especially of children, were frequent."¹

The first Church of Scotland minister to St. Andrew's was Rev. Alexander MacLean.² He was born in Rothesay, Scotland, on the 31st of August, 1793, and received his education at Glasgow University. On May the 1st, 1824 he was ordained to St. Andrew's, New Brunswick, by the Presbytery of Glasgow, and shortly afterwards he set out for his new charge.

Previous to this, it should be stated, a Presbyterian Church edifice had been started in the town and six or seven hundred pounds had been subscribed towards its building, which amount was exhausted in erecting the frame of the building and in boarding it in.³ And then, according to a local record,⁴ one

1--Collection of N. B. H. S., Vol. 3, p. 505.

2--'Fasti,' VII, p. 44. Dr. MacGill, Professor of Divinity in Glasgow University, along with others, was on the Commission that selected and sent Mr. MacLean out to New Brunswick. (Letter # 4, Glasgow Colonial Society Correspondence.)

3--Croil's article in the Presbyterian of Dec. 1875, p. 295.

4--See a local church report of Greenock Church, St. Andrew's, in John Willet's Manuscript Scrap-book. p. 157 ff.

night at a gathering an Anglican twitted the Scottish Presbyterians about their unfinished Church, and one of their number, Christopher Scott, with more emphasis than elegance, brought his fist down and banged it on the table. "I'll show you," he said. And so, at his own expense, an expense estimated at about 5000 pounds, Greenock Church (so called because Mr. Scott was a native of Greenock) was completed, and in the summer of 1824 it was opened for worship.¹

The Church thus erected was (and still is) a beautiful structure. To quote Mr. MacLean's own words:

"It is a very elegant and commodious structure, of wood, 55 feet long by 50 feet wide and surmounted by a handsome spire. Its interior is beautifully finished by a judicious mixture of the richest mahogany and bird's eye maple. The pillars supporting the gallery are made of large trees of the latter singular species of wood, and there is a chaste simplicity pervading the whole, which (combined with the richness of the materials and the splendour of the result) uniformly elicits the admiration of strangers."(2)

Such is a description of the church that was completed by the generosity of Mr. Scott.³ And in April of the year 1826, he 'signed over' the church to the Session of Greenock Church in the terms as stated in the following letter:

"To the Minister and Elders of the Scottish Church, St. Andrew's, New Brunswick.

"Gentlemen : Having individually bound ourselves to erect, within the next three years, suitable buildings for the accommodation of the ~~clergyman~~ to the extent of 4000 pounds, I hereby empower you to apply to the Legislature of the Province for an act to in-

1--For a more detailed account of ~~the opening of~~ Greenock Church and of the early years of Mr. MacLean's ministry, see Chapter 6. (Appendix to ninth annual report of the Glasgow Colonial Society.)

2--Same as above.

3--Suitable reference to Mr. Scott's generosity is made in the first annual report of the G. C. S. (1826) : "The Christian world in general, and the Church of Scotland in particular, are under deep obligation to Christopher Scott, Esq., of St. Andrew's, New Brunswick, for the disinterested zeal which he has displayed in the erection, at a very large personal expense, of a most elegant and commodious place of worship----." Christian Instructor, Edinburgh, issue of May, 1826, p. 356.

corporate you, and, as soon as you procure that act, I am ready to make out a deed to you, giving up all right, title, interest in and to the Church,

I am,

Gentlemen,

Your obedient servant.

(Signed) Christopher Scott. 1

Rev. Mr. MacLean, during the course of his ministry in St. Andrew's, wrote a number of letters to the Glasgow Colonial Society which give a good idea of conditions in his new field of labour and in the districts round about. In one of his letters especially (a letter² dated the 26th of September, 1825) there is reference made to a number of matters of in--terest. In it he tells of an interview with Sir Howard Douglas, Lieutenant Governor of the Province, who assured him that he was willing to put the Established Church of Scotland on the same footing as the Established Church of England, and advised that the Sessions of the Presbyterian Church apply to the Provincial Government for help, and that done, Sir Howard Douglas said he had no doubt they would recieve aid equally with the Episcopal-³ians. In the same letter Mr. MacLean tells of his first Communion service, for which 75 tokens were distributed and to which communicants came from distances of thirty and forty miles. The letter refers also to his having exchanged with Dr. Burns in St. John for a period of six weeks; and then continues with a subject always near to the heart of Mr. MacLean, the need in the districts in and about the parish of St. Andrew's, particularly of the need⁴ in one district in which a desire has been expressed for a reg-

1--G. C. S. Correspondence, Book 1. (No number to letter.)

2--Letter # 25, Book 1, G. C. S. Correspondence.

3--For location of lands assigned to the various churches, see Appendix III.

4--No doubt a reference to St. James, as the people of that parish were desirous of a minister from the Church of Scotland.

ular and ordained minister, and in which, in the meantime the faith is being kept alive by the people meeting and reading the sermon themselves. The letter concludes with Mr. MacLean telling of his holding a weekly meeting for the purpose of communicating religious intelligence.

Shortly after his arrival Mr. MacLean organized a Sunday School, which from the start was very successfully carried on. Indeed in all phases of the church life, so faithfully did he do his work, that when his report was made to the Glasgow Colonial Society after he had been in St. Andrew's for over ten years, it was one of the most favourable of reports.¹

In the year 1833 the Presbytery of New Brunswick was formed and Mr. MacLean, as senior minister, was chosen to be its first Moderator.² And when two years later the Presbytery resolved itself into a Synod to him again as senior minister was given the honour of being the first Moderator of a New Brunswick Synod. At the same time too he was appointed clerk of the newly formed St. John Presbytery,³ and some years later chosen clerk of the Synod,⁴ the duties of which offices, as letters and communications show, he faithfully and conscientiously performed.

Mr. MacLean, after a long and devoted ministry of almost twenty years, resigned from the charge of Greenock Church, and on the 13th of January, 1844,⁵ the Session and Trustees and

1--See page 98, chapter 6.

2--Gregg, 268.

3--MacLean's letter # 165, Bk. 6, G.C.S. Corr. dated Sept. 2, 1835.

4--MacLean's letter, dated Sept. 28, 1843, in Record of March, 1844, is written as clerk of Synod.

5--Halifax Guardian, Jan. 26th, 1844.

Members of his Church gathered to bid him farewell. From St. Andrew's he returned to Scotland, where, on the 26th of February, 1846,¹ he was admitted to Kiltearn, Presbytery of Dingwall.² He died in 1874.

This chapter has discussed the work of the ministers of the Church of Scotland who took up their work in New Brunswick prior to the formation of the Glasgow Colonial Society. Following a chapter dealing with that Society, the succeeding chapters will take up the work of the ministers who arrived following its formation.

1--Fasti, VII, p. 610.

2--Croil, p. 296. In this article, written in 1875, it is stated that Mr. MacLean died "only about a year ago."

CHAPTER III.

Glasgow Colonial Society.

The Glasgow Colonial Society was formed in the month of April, 1825. At that time there was no Colonial Committee of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, and so a number of the clerical members of the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, their hearts fired with that missionary zeal which about this time was sweeping through the Church of Scotland, and moved by the stories of the destitution and the lack of religious ordinances in the colonies, and principally in British North America, decided to form a Society which would send out ministers and missionaries to labour among their needy brethren in those colonies. Rev. Robert Burns of Paisley, brother of Dr. George Burns, then of St. John, New Brunswick, was the prime mover in the advocating of this Society.¹

A year before the actual formation of the Glasgow Colonial Society, a meeting was held in Glasgow to discuss the forming of such a Society. Following is an account of that meeting:²

"At Glasgow, the 13th of April, 1824.

"This evening a considerable number of the clerical members of the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, having met by mutual agreement

1--Life and Times of the Rev. Robert Burns, D. D., by Rev. R. F. Burns. Chapter XI, pages 152 ff.

2--Edinburgh Christian Instructor, March 1825. (pages 191 ff.) As the G. C. S. was to play such an all-important part in the history of Colonial Presbyterianism (and, more particularly, for the purposes of this Thesis, of New Brunswick Presbyterianism) it has been thought advisable to include in this chapter a detailed account of the meetings that led to its formation.

in the Synod House, took into their serious consideration the necessity and importance of forming a Society in Scotland for the purpose of promoting the religious interests of the Scottish emigrants in the British Provinces, and particularly to those of North America. There were present, the Rev. Dr. MacGill, Professor of Divinity, Glasgow; Dr. Dewar of the Tron Church, Meeting of Glasgow; Dr. Begg of New Monkland; Dr. MacLeod of April, 1824. Dundonald; Dr. Scott of Greenock; Dr. Stewart of Erskine; Mr. Hill of Dailly; Mr. Marshall of the Outer High Church, Glasgow; Mr. Paul of Maybole; Mr. Proudfoot of Arrochar; Mr. Douglas of Kilbarchan; Mr. Robertson of Cambuslang; Mr. Thomson of old Monkland; Mr. Macnair of Paisley; Mr. Logan of Eastwood; and Mr. Wallace of Barr. The Rev. Dr. MacGill was called to the Chair.

"After consultation on the subject for which they were convened, the meeting was unanimously of opinion that the state of the numerous settlers who have emigrated from this country to the British Provinces in North America, calls loudly for the serious attention and for the active efforts of the Christian public; and that, amid the varied exertions of modern benevolence, it is a matter of regret that no Society as yet exists whose avowed object it is, to promote the moral and religious improvement of our own countrymen in foreign lands, who, from the want of ordinary means of grace are in danger of falling into a state little removed from that of the heathen around them.

"The meeting was unanimously of the opinion that the attention of the public, particularly in the West of Scotland, should immediately be called to this matter, and that an institution should, if possible, be established, to assist in sending to these colonies, ministers, catechists and schoolmasters, and to aid the settlers in any other way which may appear most likely to promote their moral and religious interests.

"While a most willing testimony was borne to the zeal and assiduity of those Christians of different denominations who have from time to time directed their attention to this object, it appeared to the meeting most expedient that the proposed society should be conducted under the superintendence of members of the Established Church, that thus there may be greater unity of exertion, besides other important advantages secured.

"The Rev. Dr. Scott of Greenock and Mr. Burns of Paisley were requested to act as interim secretaries; and the following gentlemen were appointed as a committee to act along with them; namely, Dr. Macgill, Dr. Stewart, Dr. Begg, Mr. Logan, Mr. Robertson, Mr. Smythe of St. George's, Glasgow, Dr. Dewar and Mr. Marshall, with instructions to endeavor to add to their number the following laymen; namely, Messrs Charles S. Parker, Alexander M'Gregor, James Mackenzie, Patrick Falconer of Glasgow and John Denniston of Greenock.

"The secretaries were requested to collect as much information as possible respecting the state of religion in Canada and the other provinces of British North America; and the committee were empowered to call a general meeting in Glasgow whenever they feel themselves able to bring the matter before the public in a matured and tangible shape."

Following the meeting above described, the secretaries got in touch with various of the ministers in the provinces of British North America, who, in reply, wrote to tell of the conditions that prevailed in their own particular districts. These letters were made public at a meeting held on the 29th of November of that same year (1824).¹ From these letters we quote two brief extracts as being of interest in connection with the subject of Presbyterianism in New Brunswick at that time.

"The great body of the people of this Province," so writes Dr. Burns of St. John, "are emigrants from Scotland, and naturally attached to the institutions and forms of their native country, but, in consequence of their peculiar circumstances are prevented in a great measure from enjoying those religious principles to which they had been accustomed in their native land, and there is reason to fear that, in consequence of the continued want of the means of religious improvement, many of them have been tempted to lay aside the profession of religion, and are gradually sinking into a state nearly bordering upon heathenism. There are various large settlements entirely Scottish who are utterly destitute of all religious worship or instruction. It is pleasing at the same time to know, that, in many instances, the people are most anxious to have spiritual instructors, and are ready to contribute to their support. The Colonial Government also, as well as the Government at home, are disposed to be extremely liberal."

Rev. James Thompson, of the Secession Church, Miramichi, writes as follows:

"The people here are greatly in need of both moral and religious instruction, and I shall rejoice if they are supplied with an instructor to lead them in the right way." (2)

From the various letters (the tone of all which was similar to that of the letters quoted above) it was concluded that the settlers in the Provinces of British North America were, religiously,

1--Edinburgh Christian Instructor, March, 1825.

2--This letter, besides being found in the March issue of the Edinburgh Christian Instructor for 1825 is also found in the G. C. S. Correspondence, letter # 4, Book 1, and dated June 29th, 1824. The latter part of this letter (referred to in chap. 1) tells of the proposal to build and Establish Church in Newcastle, and states the qualifications necessary for the minister of such a church.

in a dire state of destitution, and that they needed ministers from the very first, before they had slipped back. More than that, they needed help in supporting their minister, especially at the first, also they needed information as to how to proceed to obtain a minister.

The final result of the making public of all these communications was the calling, a few months later, of another meeting, an account of the proceedings of which is here given:

"At Glasgow, the 15th of April, 1825.

"At a public meeting held this day in the Trades Hall, the Right Honorable, the Earl of Dalhousie in the Chair, it was moved by Kirkman Finlay, Esq., seconded by Rev. Dr. Codman of Boston, United States, and unanimously resolved, that a society shall be formed in this city and neighbourhood, for the purpose of promoting the religious interests of Scottish settlers in British North America; and, on the motion of Sir Archibald Campbell, Bart. of Succoth, seconded by the Rev. J. D. Lang, from New South Wales, it was unanimously resolved that the following shall be accepted as the interim laws and regulations of the society:

Laws and Regulations

1--The name of the society shall be "The Society (in connection with the Established Church of Scotland) for promoting the Religious Interests of Scottish settlers in British North America. 2

2--Its object shall be to promote the moral and religious interests of the Scottish colonists in North America by sending or assisting to send out ministers, catechists and schoolmasters; by donations of Bibles, and by such other means as the Directors shall seem most expedient.

3--The business of the society shall be managed by a committee of twenty-four, half clergymen and half laymen; along with a President, vice presidents, treasurer and secretaries. The committee of Directors shall meet at Glasgow as often as circumstances may require; the meetings to be called by the secretaries, and five to constitute a quorum.

1--Edinburgh Christian Instructor, June 1825, (pages 424 ff.)

2--Although this was the 'official name' of the society, yet through all the years of its existence, it was always known as the Glasgow Colonial Society, and usually designated by the initials, G. C. S.

4--No person shall be taken into the service of the society, or patronized by it, without the consent of three-fourths of the Directors present; and all motions on this subject shall lie on the table from one meeting to another.

5--No minister shall be sent out under the patronage of the society who has not been licensed or ordained by one of the Presbyteries of the Established Church, and no teacher or catechist, who is not a communicant with the Established Church.

6--The design of the society being to assist British settlers in the Colonies to provide themselves with the means of religious improvement, the society shall not grant pecuniary aid except there shall first be an application from the settlers themselves or on their behalf, accompanied with an engagement on their part to such an extent as, in the peculiar circumstances of each case, may appear necessary to a majority of the Directors.

7--That a depository shall be opened in Glasgow for the reception of Bibles and approved books which may be contributed by friends of the Society for the purpose of transmission to the Colonies.

8--Every subscriber of a guinea shall be held to be a subscriber for the year. Subscribers of five pounds, five shillings at one time shall be members for life. Subscribers of ten pounds ten shillings at one time shall be Honorary Directors for life. The ordinary Directors, on whom devolve the active management, shall be chosen annually out of the general body of subscribers; it being understood that ministers who make an annual collection in aid of the society, shall be held as members, and eligible to the Directors. The mode of election shall be by the votes of the members present.

9--A general meeting shall be held once a year, on a day to be fixed by the Directors, when the transactions of the year shall be reviewed and office-bearers appointed.

1

10--Branch societies and local committees shall be formed in the different towns and districts with the view of aiding the society; and the office-bearers of such auxiliaries shall be held as ex-officio members of the general committee.

11--Committees of correspondence shall be established in the Colonies, and these committees shall be requested to take the local management of the society's affairs in their respective districts."

1--On page 357 of the May issue of the Edinburgh Christian Instructor for 1826, there is a reference to the "Edinburgh Auxiliary Society for promoting the Religious Interests of Scottish Settlers in British North America." Of this branch, Rev. Thomas Davidson, D. D., of Muirhouse, was President, and Patrick Tennent, 107 George St, the Secretary.

There was also a branch at Aberdeen, reference to which is made in the appointment of Rev. James Souter to Newcastle, p. 57.

For fifteen years the Glasgow Colonial Society carried on its magnificent work of sending out ministers and missionaries, and of helping to support them as they took up their work in the pioneer fields of the colonies. About forty¹ in all were sent out and about a fourth of that number settled in New Brunswick.² And through all those years, Rev. Robert Burns was the society's untiring secretary, and well has Dr. Beith³ said of him that he was "the very life and soul of the enterprise."⁴

Meanwhile, in the year 1836, (a Colonial Committee of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland having been formed a few years before) negotiations were entered into for a plan of

Plan of co-operation	co-operation between the
of G. C. S. and	
Assembly's Colonial Committee	Colonial Society of Glasgow

and the General Assembly's Colonial Committee. The nature of this arrangement can best be seen by the following extract from the report of the Assembly's Colonial Committee:

"At Edinburgh, November 14th, 1836,⁵

"-----The (Colonial) Committee do hereby resolve; That the Colonial Society of Glasgow is entitled to the entire confidence of this committee as a most efficient and successful instrument for promoting the interests of religion and the Church of Scotland in the North American Colonies, and should be encouraged to proceed as heretofore in its operations in that quarter; that, in order to insure their efficient co-operation, the Committee of the General Assembly will vote, from time to time, to the Colonial Society, such sums of money as in the state of their funds, and the circumstances of the



1--Gregg's, History of the Presbyterian Church, foot-note p. 283.

2--From time to time in the chapters following reference will be made to the various appointments of the G. C. S. to the vacant fields in New Brunswick.

3--Life and Times of Rev. Robert Burns, p. 173. Dr. Beith was associated with Rev. R. Burns as Colonial Secretary of the Society from 1825 to 1827.

4--Dr. Henderson, also at one time an associate secretary with Rev. R. Burns refers to him as "the Father of the whole Colonial Missionary enterprise." Life and Times of Rev. Robert Burns, p. 154.

5--From Tenth Annual Report of the G. C. S. (Pages 86 and 87 of February issue of Edinburgh Christian Instructor, 1838.)

This report of the G. C. S. was made in May, 1837.

Society's operations, may seem meet to the committee; and that with this distinct understanding, the Colonial Society, while they retain their auxiliaries and individual contributors as before, shall leave it exclusively to the Assembly's Committee to appeal to Presbyteries and Parishes in aid of their funds. Further, that a regular correspondence be kept up betwixt the Society and the Assembly's Committee; that a report of the Society's proceedings be transmitted yearly to the Committee in order that they may avail themselves of it in their annual report to the General Assembly."

"Following up the arrangements thus made," so the report for 1837 continues, "an amicable correspondence has been maintained with the Assembly's Committee and the co-operation of both parties in matters of mutual interest has not been unproductive of good, it is hoped, to the Colonial Churches."

The report of the Assembly's Committee for the next year¹ (1838) shows that, in compliance with the terms of the above agreement, the Colonial Committee paid over to the Glasgow Colonial Society for the carrying on of its work during 1837, the sum of 550 pounds with 100 pounds still to be paid.

From the co-operation to the union of the "Society" and the "Committee" was not a long step, and in the year 1840 the Assembly's Committee has the following report to make:

"----"A proposal has been made for merging the Glasgow North American Colonial Society in this Committee in this Committee. That Society has laboured many years, long before the formation of the Assembly's Committee, to effect for those in North America, the same services which the Committee is designed to render to the British Colonists in all parts of the world. Its objects to that extent are identical. Many of its Directors are office-bearers in the Church and qualified to be members of a Committee of Assembly. Their local connections and habits of correspondence are calculated to facilitate the labours of the Committee, while the reductions in their funds necessarily occasioned by the collections made throughout the Church in aid of the Colonial Scheme, renders the continuance of their exertions as a separate body comparatively ineffective, as well as unnecessary. This proposal has been regarded by the Committee favour-

¹--Church of Scotland Colonial Reports, 1837--1857.

ably, and the following arrangement is respectfully submitted for the consideration of the General Assembly, namely: That the Acting Committee in Edinburgh shall continue as at present, to conduct the whole procedure of the committee, having an efficient sub-committee in Glasgow, consisting of the present members, or such others as may be added or substituted by the General Assembly; with the addition of the members of the Glasgow Colonial Society, being office-bearers of the Church of Scotland; the Glasgow Society being merged in the Assembly's Committee: That the Acting Committee shall have power to delegate such parts of its labours to the Glasgow sub-committee, so constituted, as they may see right, that sub-committee reporting their proceedings to the Acting Committee from meeting to meeting for their sanction."

The "merger" was straightway carried through and by August of that year (1840) the Glasgow Colonial Society, as a separate organization, had ceased to be. A general meeting¹ was held in Glasgow on the occasion of its closing at which Rev. Robert Wilson of St. John, New Brunswick, and Rev. Dr. Cook of Quebec paid worthy tribute to the work of the Society and if its faithful and indefatigable secretary, Rev. Robert Burns.² Their words of praise were well deserved for the Glasgow Colonial Society, in the early days of the Church of Scotland in the Provinces, had played a great part in laying deep and strong the foundations of the Presbyterian Church in New Brunswick.

1--March issue of the Missionary Record, 1841.

2--Dr. Burns removed to Toronto, Canada, in 1845. In 1856 he joined the staff of Knox College and within the archives of its library he deposited the original manuscript minutes and correspondence of the Glasgow Colonial Society. They have since been removed to the Legislative Building. It is from these, from the seven large volumes of correspondence especially, that a great deal of the material of these early chapters has been obtained.

CHAPTER IV .

Contribution of the Church of Scotland to New Brunswick
Presbyterianism from 1825 to 1833.

'District of Miramichi.'

The cause of the Church of Scotland in Newcastle, so promisingly begun, suffered, as has been seen, a severe set back in the great fire of Miramichi in 1825 which destroyed their church building just when it was nearing completion. However, great though the disaster was, it was not Newcastle.

long before the town was rebuilt and, in the course of a few years, progress having been made in the building of a new Presbyterian Church, a meeting was called in order to make application to the Glasgow Colonial Society for a minister. Following is an account of the meeting:

"At a general meeting held in Mitchell's Hall, Newcastle, on Saturday, the 20th of December, 1829, convened for the purpose of making the necessary arrangements previous to sending to Scotland for a minister for St. James' Church, Newcastle, Alexander Davidson, Esqr., Chairman of the Church Committee was in the chair.

"The Chairman stated that, from the destitute state of numerous inhabitants of Newcastle and the extensive districts surrounding it who profess the Presbyterian form of religion for want of religious ordinances, and, as from the contractor's report, he expected that St. James' Church would be completely finished by the middle of August next, it had now become a matter of absolute necessity that means should without delay be adopted for procuring a minister to officiate therein.

1--G. C. S. Correspondence, No. 129, Book 3.

"The following resolutions were then moved, seconded and carried unanimously:

1st--On motion of James Fraser, Esq., seconded by James Gilmour, Esq., That a minister of the Church of Scotland should be sent for without delay for St. James' Church. Mr. Fraser here stated to the meeting the nature and object of the Society instituted in Glasgow in connection with the Established Church of Scotland for promoting the religious interests of Scottish settlers in the Colonies.

2nd--Moved by him, seconded by John Nesmith, Esq., That application be made forthwith, through the Trustees of the Church and a committee to be chosen at this meeting to the said Society in order that a clergyman may be selected and chosen by them for St. James' Church.

3rd--On motion of James D. Fraser, Esq., seconded by John Nesmith, Esq., That a sum of not less than 200 pounds, nor to exceed 250 pounds currency, be the salary of the clergyman to be sent for.

4th--On motion of James D. Fraser, Esq., seconded by Mr. William Loch, That a bond be signed for a term of five years to pay the clergyman appointed, to commence from the time of his arrival here; it being understood that the same is only to be enforced after the first year, which is to be paid in full to make up any deficiency that may occur after the ~~pew~~ rents have been apportioned for that period.

5th--On motion of John Nesmith, Esq., seconded by James Gilmour, Esq., That, adhering to the Established Church of Scotland, in the ordinances of which many of us have been educated in our native land and for which many of us, born and brought up in this country, have the strongest predilection (being the Church of our Fathers); it is our desire and wish that when a minister of that Church is obtained for St. James' Church, Newcastle, the most friendly feelings be promoted cultivated and maintained with the Presbyterian Church in Chatham (although not in connection with the aforementioned Church) and that, as far as is consistent with the character of a branch of the National Church (which character must not be forfeited) it will be an object of us to preserve a friendly intercourse and interchange of services of the ministers of the aforesaid churches.

6th--On motion of Mr. William Loch, seconded by John Fraser, Esq., That a committee of seven be appointed to join the Trustees of the Church in conducting the correspondence with the Glasgow Society. The following gentlemen were elected, James D. Frazer, Esqr., Messrs. Thomas MacCallum, Sen., Thomas C. Allan, Gilbert Henderson, Robert Leslie, Donald MacKay, Esqr., Mr. William Fiddes.

The bond for the ministers salary having been signed by those present, the meeting was closed.

Newcastle, Dec. 20th, 1829.

James Wright,
Secretary.

Shortly after this meeting, early in 1830, the bond¹ for the minister's salary signed by the trustees and with about 150 other names was forwarded to Glasgow. With it there was sent² a letter describing the type of minister³ desired for such a town⁴ as Newcastle, a town in which the other Protestant denominations were represented. The letter reads:

"He must be liberal in sentiment and of popular talents as a preacher in order the more firmly to establish a regular congregation, and more effectively to promote so desirable an object, it will be incumbent on him to perform divine service both in the forenoon and afternoon each Sabbath, as is the custom in Scotland. It would also be desirable that he be a married man."

Meanwhile in Scotland, about this time, the Rev. James Souter⁵ made application to the Glasgow Colonial Society for⁶ an appointment. With the petition of Newcastle before it, the

1--The bond, for five years, is no. 130A, Bk. 3, G.C.S. Corr.

2--Letter no. 130, Bk. 3, G.C.S. Corr., dated Jan. 1830.

This letter also states that, if suitable, they "do not hesitate to say that a call will be given him (should he desire it) for the rest of his life."

3--Interesting is it to note the qualifications specified as necessary for a minister to the colonies. A Mr. Mackenzie, writing to the G. C. S. under date of Nov. 19th, 1829, (Bk. 3, no number to letter) states: "Allow me to observe that the society must lay an absolute interdict on one and all of their missionaries to this country against reading their discourses. The practice is especially abhorred by the people. However able a preacher is otherwise, let him be a reader and he is unacceptable. The people think every sermon read is a borrowed one and consequently they will not entertain for any length of time a high opinion of such as use their papers. No ministers in this country, except those of the Church of England, use their manuscripts in the pulpits."

4--Methodism began in Newcastle in 1829. Just four months before Mr. Souter's arrival Mr. Pickles of the Methodist Church began his ministry. (Souter's letter # 3, G.C.S. Corr. Bk. 4, dated Jan. 11th, 1831. Also Johnson's History of Methodism, page 190.)

5--Application is no. 115, Bk. 3, G. C. S. Corr.

6--Souter's letter (# 127, Bk. 3) states that he is willing to go either to Demarara or Quebec, with a slight preference for the latter. With this letter are six eloquent testimonials (no. 128, Bk. 3, G.C.S. Corr.) to his character, ability, &c.

Directors appointed ¹Mr. Souter ²to that charge. He was ordained
by the Presbytery of Aberdeen ³on the 11th of June, 1830, ⁴and

Rev. James Souter ⁵shortly afterwards proceeded to his new charge
⁶in New Brunswick, where he arrived on the 25th
⁷of September. Shortly after his arrival Mr.

Souter writes the following description of his Church:

"Externally it is one of the neatest edifices of the sort I have seen here or elsewhere. Upon one end is a beautiful spire and over the door an elegant porch supported by two pillars of the Ionic order. The pews are not yet put in, but are nearly all ready for being so." (8)

The Church, completed by the beginning of 1831, had a
⁸seating capacity of about 700.

Not long after his arrival Mr. Souter wrote that he had started a Sunday School, beginning it with 84 scholars, with the number "still increasing." "Four very respectable teachers
⁸along with myself," he writes, "are engaged in conducting it."

1--Reference to this appointment is made in the fourth annual report of the G. C. S. (1830)

2--Rev. James Souter was born in Aberdeenshire and educated at King's College, Aberdeen. Fasti, I, p. 304.

3--An Aberdeen Auxiliary of the G. C. S. was formed shortly after Mr. Souter's ordination to New Brunswick. (Sixth annual report of the G. C. S. 1832.)

4--Fasti, I, p. 304, also VII, p. 611.

5--The fifth annual report of the G. C. S. (1831) states that Mr. Souter set sail early in August of 1830.

6--In his letter of Jan. 11th, 1831 (No. 3, Bk. 4, G.C.S. Corr.) Mr. Souter states that he arrived in Halifax on the 25th of August and that he preached there for two Sabbaths and enjoyed their kind hospitality. From there he went to Pictou and, leaving there Sept. 22nd, he arrived in Newcastle on the 25th, where he "was most cordially welcomed." In regard to his stay in Halifax, Rev. John Martin, who met him there, refers to him as "a most excellent young man." (Letter dated Dec. 15th, 1830, Bk. 3, G. C. S. Corr. No number given.)

7--Letter dated Oct. 12th, 1830, in fifth annual report of the G. C. S. (1831)

8--In his letter of Jan. 11th, 1831, Souter states that on his arrival "the church, owing to some delay in obtaining materials, was not quite finished internally," but, the letter adds, it "has since been completed."

From the first Mr. Souter was one of the leading ministers of the Church of Scotland in New Brunswick. Early in the year 1831 he presided at the opening of St. Paul's Church in Fredericton. A few years later (1838) we find him the Moderator of the Synod of New Brunswick.¹ And always he was visiting in this field and that, opening up preaching stations on the Northwest² and Southwest³ Branches of the Miramichi, making applications for ministers for the surrounding districts, keeping up a steady and most informing correspondence with the Glasgow Colonial Society,⁴ welcoming incoming emigrants to the shores of their new home Province,⁵ and all the while faithfully carrying on his own work in the Church and Sunday School of St. James's in Newcastle, and reporting of that work, in the Missionary Record of March 1842, that he had at that time 200 communicants, and that all was going well.⁶

In the year 1843, Mr. Souter returned to Scotland and in May of the following year he was admitted to Borthwick. His ministry there, however, was very brief and he died the 6th of April, 1846.⁷

1--Halifax Guardian, July 11th, 1838.

2--Letter dated Dec. 26th, 1839, Bk. 8, G.C.S. Corr. (No number.)

3--Writing April 6th, 1840 (See Missionary Record, July, 1840)

Mr. Souter refers to his preaching at the Northwest Branch a short time before that, and that there were 180 present, among them, Julian, the Indian Chief.

4--Rev. J. Turnbull later took up work in this station. Chap. 7.

5--It is from his numerous letters contained in the Correspondence of the G. C. S. that a great deal of the material relative to the Northern parts of New Brunswick has been obtained.

6--In the Missionary Records of August 1841 and March 1842, Mr. Souter stresses the need of Church of Scotland ministers welcoming the new emigrants to the shores of New Brunswick. In the latter Record he tells of his being at the wharf in Douglastown and of meeting 30 settlers, mostly Presbyterians from the North of Ireland, and of how he even tried to get jobs for them.

7--Fast I, p. 304. The Missionary Record of Sept. 1846 tells of a congregational meeting in Newcastle at which it was decided to send a letter of sympathy to Mrs. Souter in the death of her husband.

The year following Mr. Souter's arrival, that is the year 1831¹, saw the coming of two new ministers of the Church of Scotland to the northern part of New Brunswick; Rev. William Johnston to St. Andrew's Church, Chatham, and Rev. James Steven² to the Restigouche. As to the former, the sixth annual report of the Glasgow Colonial Society contains the following:

"In consequence of the recent death of the Rev. James Thompson, a worthy minister of the United Seession Church at Miramichi, the congregation which was under his pastoral charge has given a call to a minister of the Church of Scotland."(3)

Rev. Mr. Johnston did not remain for long in Chatham and his record there was a most unfortunate one. In the first part of his ministry he had been welcomed by Mr. Souter as a brother and they had exchanged pulpits occasionally.⁴ But with the passing of the months and by the early part of 1833 it had become increasingly evident that his pastorate in Chatham must end. The reasons⁵ given for this are that he associated "too freely with the lower orders, tasting with them at all hours," that "from the strange improbable stories he has told, his veracity became very questionable," and that though engaged to a young lady in

1--Souter's letter in Sept. issue of Missionary Record for 1843.

2--G. C. S. report for 1832.

3--His salary was 150 pounds. Souter's letter dated June 15th, 1833, No. 145, Book 5 of G. C. S. Correspondence.

4--Souter's letter no. 109, Bk.4, G.C.S. Corr. dated April 6, 1832.

5--Souter's letter no. 145, Bk.5, G.C.S. Corr. dated June 15, 1833.

This letter states that by paying Mr. Johnston off they are free of him and in line for another, though it is doubtful if more than 100 pounds can be raised for a successor.

Mr. Hannay (Letter # 124, Bk. 5, G. C. S. Corr. dated Nov. 15th, 1833) refers to Mr. Johnston as having "delivered up his call from the Church of St. Andrew, Chatham, and gone to the United States."

Dumfries, he had married a Mrs. Graham, a widow and a tavern-keeper, the ceremony (Mr. Souter refusing) having been performed by the Anglican minister.

So ended the unfortunate career of Mr. Johnston in Chatham. Shortly after his removal, an application for another minister was sent to Scotland, accompanied by a bond for 112 pounds¹. In due time an appointment was made and the next year (1834) Rev. Robert Archibald arrived in Chatham. The story of his work, however, will be reserved until a later chapter. (Pages 86,89)

Rev. James Steven was the second minister of the Church of Scotland to arrive in the Northern part of New Brunswick in the year 1831. He was born in 1801 and received his education at the University of Glasgow². In the sixth annual report of the Glasgow Colonial Society there is a reference to his consenting to go to the field of the Restigouche in New Brunswick,³

1--Letter of Rev. A. MacLean, dated Sept. 23/1833. (No. 195, Book 5, G. C. S. Correspondence.)

2--Fasti, VII, p. 611. 'Fasti' gives as the place of his birth, Galston, Ayrshire, while the epitath on his tombstone in Athol, near Campbellton, New Brunswick, states that he was born in Luce, Wigtownshire, Scotland. It is difficult to know just which to credit.

3--Gregg, (pages 290 and 291) quotes more fully from the sixth annual report of the G. C. S. (1832) to say that the application of the people of Restigouche for a minister was accompanied by a letter from the Rev. James Souter "representing the spiritual destitution in that district. The directors of the Society endeavoured to obtain a fit person to undertake the mission, and 'after making several elections and meeting with as many refusals, they at length made choice of the Rev. James Steven, preacher of the gospel, whose consent having been obtained, the business of his ordination was respectfully committed to the Presbytery of Stranraer, and by that reverend body he was set apart to the work of the ministry in the station assigned to him, and set sail for Chaleur.'"

to which field he came in the fall of 1831, arriving there on the 24th day of October.¹ And at once he took up his work in his new and difficult field.

Never was minister more faithful than Mr. Steven.² "At the time of his settlement there was no Presbyterian clergyman nearer than the Miramichi, and, for many years, besides supplying his charge proper----Campbellton and Dalhousie----Mr. Steven extended his services to Bathurst and New Richmond, and even as far as New Carlisle and Port Daniel."³

The seventh annual report of the Glasgow Colonial Society (1833) makes reference to the success which attended Mr. Steven's efforts in his new field, to his having regularly organized a Kirk in Campbellton with a Session of six members,⁴ to his preaching in Dalhousie every third week and to his long intineraries. And he himself gives a splendid description of his work in a letter⁵ written in September of 1833, which letter reads as follows:

"My professional labours and bodily fatigue are great, but hitherto I've been able to bear them and am succeeding as well as you could wish and beyond my most sanguine expectations. I have used my every effort and by the blessing of God, have succeeded in forming two very respectable congregations, one here (Campbellton) and another at Dalhousie, where I still continue to go every third Sabbath. Our new church is not yet completely finished but we have sermon in it now. The sacrament of the Lord's Supper was dispensed in it the second time on the second Sabbath of July when 109 communicants partook of that Lord's ordinance. I was assisted on this occasion by the Rev. (James) Souter of Newcastle, Miramichi. I have established a Sabbath School which is well attended considering the great distance some of them have to come. I superintend it myself and am assisted by the schoolmaster. It is highly gratifying to observe the progress which the children are making, the interest which they seem

1--Croil's article in The Presbyterian, Dec. 1875, p. 291.

2--Rev. James Souter and other correspondents, over and over again, pay tribute to the faithful and untiring labours of Mr. Steven.

3--Croil's article in The Presbyterian, Dec. 1875, p. 291.

4--Messrs. Robert Ferguson, John Adams, Robert Adams, Alexander Adams, John Duncan and Jonathan Hoar. Article in The Campbellton Graphic, Oct. 29th, 1931, 'One Hundred Years of Church History in the Restigouche District,' by Rev. F. H. McIntosh, pastor of First United Church, Campbellton.

5--Letter # 196, Book 5, G. C. S. Correspondence.

to feel in reading and committing to memory portions of the word of God and the catechisms of our Church. Their attendance on public worship and their manner of keeping the Sabbath are pleasing foretastes of a rich harvest of virtue and piety."

In the year 1839 Mr. Steven , in answer to his many and urgent appeals, was joined by the Rev. John M. Brooke, appointed by the Glasgow Colonial Society to the field of New Richmond. Mr. Brooke, however, did not remain for long in that charge, and upon his removal, Mr. Steven again took up their cause, preached occasionally for them, and urged the Colonial Committee to send to them another minister as soon as it was possible at all.¹

At the time of the "Disruption" in New Brunswick, Mr. Steven retained his connection with the Established Church.²

In the spring of 1845, Mr. Steven was the recipient of a handsome gown as a token of appreciation for his work and of the high esteem in which he was held. The following paragraph describing the presentation is taken from the Halifax Guardian of June 20th, 1845:

"A deputation consisting of Mrs. Ritchie and Miss Campbell, on behalf of the ladies belonging to St. Andrew's Church, Restigouche, presented the Rev. James Steven with a handsome pulpit gown and cassock, as a mark of their regard for their esteemed clergyman personally, and of gratitude for his long and faithful ministry among them as pastor."

For almost thirty-three years Mr. Steven carried on the work of his ministry to the people of the Northern shore of New Brunswick,³ and the following description, by the Rev. James Croil , of the difficulties which he encountered and which he conquered is, in itself, an eloquent tribute to the work of Mr. Steven.

"The superintendence of so extensive a charge at a time when there were no proper roads, exposed the minister to much

1--See Chapter 7.

2--See Chapter 9 for description of the visit of the deputation from the Church of Scotland following the Disruption.

3-- Souter, writing in the Missionary Record of July, 1840, tells of a neat church having been built at Dalhousie, and asks for a minister for them. This petition, however, was not granted until 1855, with the coming of Rev. Alexander Forbes. Fasti, VII, p. 609.

hardship and fatigue. He had frequently to walk between Campbellton and Dalhousie on snow-shoes, and, when he went to Bathurst, to find his way along the sea-shore on horseback. Many a wild snow-storm and blinding drift, and many a drenching rain tried his fortitude and patience, but none of these things prevented him from doing his duty. Brave man that he was, if it was at all possible, he was always at his post with the regularity of clock-work. He was acceptable as a preacher and especially happy in his daily intercourse among his people. He ceased from his labours on the 22nd January, 1864, in the 63rd year of his age. Few ministers have worked more faithfully for their Master than Mr. Steven did, and few men made more personal friends. (1) (2)

1--The Presbyterian, Dec. 1875, p. 291.

2--Upon the stone which marks the place of Mr. Steven's grave there is a lengthy epitath which reads in part as follows:

"In memory of Rev. James Steven----. This testimonial was erected by his friends of all denominations as a token of their esteem for his virtues as a Christian man and zealous servant of his Divine Master. Rev. 14:13, 'And I heard a voice from Heaven saying unto me, write, Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord, from henceforth: yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours and their works do follow them.'" Article in the Campbellton Graphic of Oct. 29th, 1931 above referred to.

'District of St. John.'

Dr. George Burns following his return to Scotland in 1831, was succeeded in his church in St. John by the Rev. Robert

Rev. Robert Wilson, who took up his work in that city in June of the next year.¹ Mr. Wilson was born in Glasgow on the 13th of March, 1805, and received his education at the Glasgow Grammar School and at the University of Glasgow, from which institution he graduated in 1826.² On the 4th day of February, six years later, he was ordained by the Presbytery of Glasgow to his new charge, and shortly after set sail to take up his work in that field.³

As to Mr. Wilson's ministry in St. John, D. R. Jack in his History of St. Andrew's Church says of him:⁴

"Mr. Wilson was a man of zeal and piety. He was an indefatigable worker as well as a frequent visitor in the homes of the members of his flock, and became almost an idol among his people. The Church gained strength spiritually and was greatly blessed in many ways under his ministration."

A few months after Mr. Wilson's arrival, the Presbytery⁵

1--Jack, p. 372.

2--Fasti, VII, p. 611.

3--Reference is made in the sixth annual report of the G. C. S. (1832) to Mr. Wilson's being nominated to succeed Dr. Burns, and Gregg (page 291) states that twelve representatives, three of them directors of the G. C. S., along with the members of Session, were entrusted with the task of selecting a minister of the Church of Scotland for that vacant charge. "These gentlemen," quotes Gregg, "in the exercise of a wise and enlightened discretion, did, after due deliberation and enquiry, make choice of Mr. Robert Wilson, a licentiate of the Presbytery of Glasgow, and a gentleman most amply qualified in point of talents, eloquence and piety, for the charge committed to him."

4--Jack, p. 93. For detailed account of his work, see Chap. 7 of 'Jack.'

5--Rev. A. MacLean, in a letter written Feb. 13th, 1832 (No. 93, Book 5, G. C. S. Correspondence) states that a Presbytery must be formed when Wilson comes.

of New Brunswick in connection with the Church of Scotland was formed in Fredericton. As will be seen, the Presbytery was very anxious to obtain a 'Province missionary,' and Mr. Wilson, from the first, was one of the staunch advocates for the obtaining of such a missionary. On the 6th of March, 1833, he writes to express the hope that the Glasgow Colonial Society will approve such an appointment,¹ a year later² (Mr. Hannay, the missionary sent out in 1833, having accepted a call to Richibucto) he writes that the grant be still continued and another appointment made;³ the next year he writes again and, after expressing his disappointment in that no missionary has arrived during the year, he goes on to state that it would be advisable for the next missionary to itinerate in the Province for a while and then limit his work to St. John, where, if he were the right man, "he would probably, within a year, be liable to gather another Presbyterian congregation in this city."⁴ "Our finances are such," he

1--Letter # 39, Book 5, G.C.S. Corr. This letter also states: "Since coming here I have been busy, comfortable and happier than I anticipated---the rigour of the winter being one of the drawbacks to mere external comfort."

2--During the year Mr. Wilson was married to Margaret Elizabeth, eldest daughter of John M. Wilmot, Mayor. They were married October 21st, 1833. Jack, p. 93, 94.

3--Letter # 74, Book 6, G. C. S. Corr. dated Sept. 23rd, 1834.

4--Letter # 152, Book 6, G. C. S. Corr. dated July 22nd, 1835. Mr. Wilson gives as his reason for desiring another Church of Scotland minister in St. John the fact that the Covenanters, when able, are planning to obtain a "Cameronian minister from Ireland," who, if acceptable, "will probably gather up all the Presbyterian stragglers." (The Covenanters, in the year 1841, obtained as their minister, Rev. Alexander Stavely, who laboured with much success among them for thirty seven years. For brief story of his life, see Olive Tress, 1899, pages 248 ff.)

adds, "we might even be able to help another clergyman."

Mr. Wilson, who had been engaged as pastor for a term of five years, was invited, at the end of that period, to remain for another five year term.¹ But his latter years in St. John were not happy years,² and strange as it may seem, he who had tried so hard to obtain a missionary for New Brunswick was to find that that very missionary was to be the cause of his coming to grief.³ The story of the unfortunate affair will be referred to in a later chapter when we come to a study of the Rev. David Syme, but suffice it here to say that Mr. Wilson was so bitterly assailed by the friends and supporters of Mr. Syme that when his term was up in 1842 he felt it better that he should give up his work in New Brunswick and return again to Scotland.

Mr. Wilson joined the Free Church in 1843 and was sent to the charge of North Ronaldsay, in which charge he laboured for over forty years. He died in Edinburgh the 5th of April, 1894.⁴

1--Jack, p. 96.

2--Rev. William Andrew of St. Stephen's Church, St. John, in a pamphlet dated Jan. 27th, 1838, had brought "injurious and unchristian" charges against Mr. Wilson, whereupon the Elders and Trustees of St. Andrew's Church called a meeting in the Session House on the 15th of February, at which the following resolution was passed: "Resolved that after a careful investigation of the charges which the Rev. William Andrew has recently published in a pamphlet against the Rev. Robert Wilson, pastor of St. Andrew's Church, and also after due examination of documents and other sources of refutation which the Rev. Mr. Wilson has furnished to them and is perfectly willing and desirous to exhibit to the Presbytery, they unanimously and firmly, yet painfully, declare their conviction that the aforesaid pamphlet contains many misrepresentations, inconsistencies and falsehoods, and they have therefore requested the Rev. Mr. Wilson to treat that production with silent neglect.

"Resolved that a copy of this resolution be published in the Courier and Weekly Observer."

The above is taken from Willet's manuscript scrapbook, pages 24 following.

3--Hannay's, History of New Brunswick, Vol. II, pages 409, 410.

4--Fasti, VII, 611.

No better or more complete description of the state of early Presbyterianism in Kings Co. can be furnished than the account of a tour of the Rev. John Martin, a minister of the Church of Scotland in Halifax,¹ to this district in the summer of 1829. The following is his "journal,"² dated Sept. 8th, 1829, which describes in detail his visit, and which is contained in the fourth annual report of the Glasgow Colonial Society. (1830):

Kings. Co.
Visit of
Rev. John
Martin, 1829.

"On Tuesday evening (the 16th of June)," so writes Dr. Martin, "we arrived safely at St. John, and as your brother (Dr. George Burns) was then on a visit to St. Andrew's, I left that city on Wednesday for Kings Co., the chief field of my labours for the late excursion--- .

"The first station that I visited in this part of the county was Norton, a parish which extends ten or twelve miles along both sides of the Kennebecasis, a beautiful river which flows through Kings Co into the River St. John. In this parish there are a number of families from Scotland and the North of Ireland who are attached to the Presbyterian religion. On the Lord's Day, 21st June, I preached twice in the Episcopal Church at Norton, and baptized eight children. The members of our Church intend soon to form a regular congregation in this parish. Mr. Crabb, one of the oldest and most independent farmers, has given them a very convenient spot of land for building a church and for a burying ground on the public road from St. John through Sussexvale to Nova Scotia, and on the banks of the Kennebecasis. A quantity of building materials have been collected for this purpose and the frame of the Church, thirty by forty feet in extent, will be raised in a short time. As the church about to be erected is situated in a fertile district, and in a thriving and populous neighbourhood, it will no doubt be well attended, should an acceptable minister be appointed. On Monday morning I left Norton for Springfield, proceeding through a settlement in the upper part of Norton,

1--Rev. John Martin was a native of Scotland, born in the year 1790. He was licensed by the Presbytery of Edinburgh and ordained by the Presbytery of Hamilton on July 31st, 1856. That same year he became pastor of St. Andrew's Church, Halifax, remaining there until 1856. (Gregg, p. 269)

2--In a letter to the G. C. S. (See Book 3, of Correspondence, letter dated Dec. 25th, 1829, no number given) Dr. Martin states that he is sending this journal as being an attempt "in some measure to supply the lack of intelligence" in regard to New Brunswick.

where I baptized four children, and reached the West Scotch Settlement in the evening, a distance of fourteen miles. The East and West Scotch Settlements in the Parish of Springfield, as their names denote, are composed chiefly of emigrants from our native land, principally from Callendar, Kipper, Aberfoil, Dunkeld, Moulin and other parishes in the Highlands of Perthshire who landed in the Province of New Brunswick ten or twelve years ago. They are a poor but truly industrious and interesting people, thirsting for the ordinances of religion and cherishing an ardent attachment to their native country and their Mother Church. On Tuesday morning a number of heads of families collected together in a private house soliciting baptism for their children. After conversing with them on the nature, design and importance of that holy ordinance, I baptized twenty-seven of their children, the largest number ever baptized in one day. The season was truly solemn, the scene affecting. Many of the parents had waited several years with great anxiety for such a favourable opportunity, and when the ordinance was dispensed, they united together in expressing their gratitude to God for His great mercies. Twelve years ago this district, now thickly settled, was a complete wilderness, and twelve years hence it is highly probable that it will contain a flourishing congregation. This is the station which your catechist Mr. Anderson (1) occupied for several years with great credit to himself and advantage to this infant settlement. They feel truly grateful to your Society for the assistance given to him while labouring amongst them, and I apprehend that this is one of the most judicious methods in which your money can be expended. He has lately removed to Wallace in the County of Cumberland, where his labours are much wanted. On

1--Reference is made to Mr. Anderson in the first annual report of the Glasgow Colonial Society (1826) as follows: "A petition has been transmitted from Springfield, New Brunswick, forty miles from St. John, subscribed by a number of Highlanders, supplicating some aid in order that they may be enabled to retain the valuable services of Mr. Daniel Anderson, teacher and catechist, who has been labouring most usefully among them for a year past. The truth of their statements, having been verified by the Rev. Dr. Burns from local knowledge of the parties concerned, the committee voted a gift of five pounds sterling by way of encouragement to Mr. Anderson to continue his useful labours as a teacher and catechist in the several settlements which have been the object of his care." The above-mentioned amount was received by Mr. Donald Forbes, and the following letter is his acknowledgment: "I have received your favour dated 15th of May last on the 4th of last month with the enclosed five pounds sterling, graciously granted by the Glasgow Colonial Society to Mr. Daniel Anderson, our school master and catechist in this settlement, which I delivered to him the same day. (Letter # 64, G. C. S. Correspondence, dated Oct. 1st, 1826.) The letter goes on to state their appreciation of the gift, and requests, due to the poor conditions of their crops, that it be continued, as his services are "really useful and acceptable" in the wide and extended territory which comprises his field.

Wednesday I preached in a private house on the public road to Fredericton to a pretty large congregation collected from the East and West Scotch Settlements and from Belle Isle Bay----and baptized nine children. It is the central station on the post road from Nova Scotia to Fredericton that the settlers have agreed to erect a church 26 feet by 36 feet in extent in connection with our Establishment. They have had an offer of land free of expenses from different persons for the site of the building; materials have been collected, and before I left New Brunswick they had received a considerable sum in subscriptions from St. John to assist them in the undertaking. Every friend to religion will wish that they may prosper in this good cause. On Thursday I returned by the head of Belle Isle Bay through a large and populous settlement to Norton and proceeded on Friday along the public road on the banks of the Kennebecasis towards Sussexvale, where I had engaged to preach on the following Lord's Day. There are a number of Scotch families on this road, chiefly from Perthshire, who have resided many years in this province and have, by persevering industry, obtained good farms. As the road through the district is excellent, these settlers can easily attend public worship at Norton or Sussex, the parishes to which they belong. On the Lord's Day I preached twice

Sussex Parish to a numerous and attentive audience, and baptized on that and the following day, eight children. Here I found the members of our Church, as in other places, longing for the services of our ministers, and willing to contribute according to their means, for the support of the gospel. It is true that many of the heads of families in this district are in poor circumstances, and consequently unable to subscribe liberally for the maintenance of religion, but others are in a more affluent condition, proprietors of excellent farms in the beautiful and fertile vale of Sussex, both able and willing to give assistance to ministers of religion.

"On the Wednesday following I preached in the afternoon in a schoolhouse in the upper part of the Parish of Sussex, and on Thursday morning, on my return to Norton, I baptized two children. Sussexvale, as you will perceive from the description of New Brunswick, is one of the most delightful and fertile spots in the province containing a numerous population, many of whom are warmly attached to the Church of Scotland. As a proof of this attachment I may mention that some of the most substantial farmers subscribed liberally for the erection of St. Andrews Church in the city of St. John, although fifty miles distant, and rejoiced greatly when that congregation obtained a pastor, expecting that he would soon be followed by a number of other ministers from Scotland, an expectation which has not yet been realized.

"Returning by Norton to St. John, the last stations I visited in this part of the country were Saltsprings and South Brook Settlements in the Parish of Hampton. The settlers at Saltsprings, like the settlers at Springfield, are from the Highlands of Perthshire and in pretty similar circumstances. Lately come to the province there are many of them struggling with poverty and unable to give from their scanty means much assistance to the ministers of religion but they supply, by their zeal and

attachments, the want of pecuniary resources, and a scanty meal in their log huts has a double relish when it is served up with such a hearty welcome. During Mr. Anderson's stay in New Brunswick he spent some time in the Saltsprings settlement, instructing the children as well as their parents, and the fruit of his labours is still visible in this place. The settlers in South Brook are lately come to the province from the North of Ireland, where they had been trained up in connection with the Presbyterian Church. In every part of this country they readily and cordially unite with the members of our Church from Scotland in the support of schools, in the erection of churches and in subscriptions for clergymen, and therefore they are highly deserving of every assistance and encouragement that can be given them.

"On the Lord's Day, July 5th, I preached twice in a private house on the public road from St. John to Shepody to a numerous congregation from these two settlements, and baptized three children. It is in this neighbourhood, at a place about an equal distance from the Saltsprings and South Brook settlements, that they have resolved to erect a church, 26 by 30 feet, for which they are now making preparations.

"On the following Monday I visited the South Brook settlement and baptized seven children. After a very fatiguing journey through very bad roads and thick forests, I reached the Parish of Norton in the evening and travelled fourteen miles to an Irish settlement adjoining the Scotch settlement in the Parish of Springfield, where I preached on Wednesday morning to a small congregation and baptized two children. Returning that evening to Norton, my public ministrations were finished in this place by marrying a couple on Thursday and baptizing a child on Friday.

"From the 21st of June, on which day I preached in Norton Church, to Friday, the 10th of July, I travelled nearly 200 miles, preached nine times and baptized not fewer than 78 children.--

"Hitherto the settlers here have been living in a state of great spiritual destitution. Brighter prospects however are now opened up to them and the desired assistance seems near at hand. As the Gaelic language is not necessary in these settlements, you will have the less difficulty in selecting an active, zealous, pious missionary, for none other could undertake the arduous duties of this widely extended district and advance the religious interests of its inhabitants.

"In transmitting this report to your society, you must be aware that I have visited only a very small portion of the Province of New Brunswick. When at Springfield I was informed that there are a number of Scotch settlers on the Washademoak Lake and also on the Grand Lake, Queens Co. living in a state of moral darkness and far removed from the ordinances of religion. At Sussexvale I learned that there are a number of Scottish settlers along the Pedicodiac and also at Botsford, a station which has already applied to your society for a minister. (1) When at

1--Letter # 32, Book 1, G. C. S. Correspondence, dated Feb. 15th, 1826. See also second annual report of the G. C. S. (1828)

Hampton, I was requested to visit a large Irish settlement, many of whom are Presbyterians, twenty miles distant on the road to Shepody. But it would have required six months instead of six weeks to visit the Scotch and Irish settlements once only throughout this extensive province.

---"It may be affirmed with truth that the whole land is before us, that not only individuals but large societies, destitute of the ordinances of religion and desirous of the means of grace, are to be found in every county and almost every district of the Province." (1)

Such is the extended account of Rev. John Martin's itinerary through Kings Co.

Following the removal of Mr. Anderson to Wallace, a Mr. Donald, a catechist from Scotland, came to this field, having

been invited by a "considerable number of people Mr. Donald

in the Parishes of Norton, Springfield, Sussex² and Hampton." This was in the fall of 1828³. In the following

summer Mr. Donald and Rev. John Martin exchanged, and it was this exchange that afforded Mr. Martin his opportunity of visiting and of learning of conditions in this part of New Brunswick.

1--Later in this same letter reference is made to a statement of John West in his journal of a Mission to the Indians of New Brunswick, and published in 1827. The journal states: "The National Kirk of Scotland has only two ministers for the colony in the present day for a numerous people of her communion who have emigrated to this quarter." (West was Chaplain to the Hudson Bay Co.)

2--Letter of Mr. Donald, dated Dec. 10th, 1829. (No. 109, Book 3, G. C. S. Correspondence) From this letter we learn that Mr. Donald, previous to his coming to Kings Co., taught for a year "in the neighbourhood of St. John in a Mr. Gilbert's family," who, he states, following that, could have procured him a position as teacher in the city at a salary of nearly two hundred pounds a year. While in St. John he preached every Sabbath morning at Carlton and in the evening in the Kirk. After consulting with Dr. Burns, he decided to accept the invitation to Kings Co. This same letter contains a description of the state of Presbyterianism in his field, but as practically all of it is to be found in Dr. Martin's account, that part of the letter is not included here.

3--In the same letter as above he refers to exchanging with Rev. John Martin after having been on his field eight months, which means that he arrived on his field sometime in the fall of 1828.

Unfortunately, about this time unfavourable reports were circulated throughout his field in regard to the character of Mr. Donald. Rev. John Martin, however, as seen in his letter in the correspondence of the Glasgow Colonial Society, came at once to the defence of Mr. Donald and declared that his conduct in New Brunswick was uniformly correct and his labours unusually great. Several churches in Nova Scotia, during the past summer, desired his services, but he refused their offers. "I know no person," continues Mr. Martin, "belonging to our Church, who has done so much good in such a short time, with so little support and encouragement."¹

After a ministry of but a few years, Mr. Donald removed from this charge, and, save for the services of "a very worthy person by the name of John Tennant,"² the field remained vacant for a number of years. Meanwhile, they were very desirous of obtaining an ordained minister, as can be seen in the following letter from Rev. A. MacLean to the Glasgow Colonial Society:³

"There are some flourishing settlements from 30 to 50 miles from St. John (Sussex, etc---) who are still more able to support a minister than are the St. James' people, and they have, for some years back, been desirous of receiving an ordained minister from Scotland. They had set their hearts on Mr. Donald, and are discouraged and displeased at the result of his journey to Scotland."

Finally, after long waiting, Rev. David Syme accepted a call to this charge in February of 1836. (See page 107 to 109)

1--Book 3, no number given. Letter dated Dec. 25th, 1829.

2--In the sixth annual report of the G. C. S. (1832) there is a reference to the fact that on recommendation of Dr. Burns, John Tennant was nominated as successor to the previous minister on this charge for one year at a salary of five pounds sterling. Rev. Mr. Wilson, in the ninth annual report of the G. C. S. (1836) refers to him as "an aged catechist, who has long and successfully itinerated among the Presbyterian settlements of the Province."

3--Letter # 93, Book 4, G. C. S. Corr. , dated Feb. 13th, 1832.

In the year 1828 some men of Fredericton, returning from a St. Andrew's Society dinner, got together and, each subscribing five pounds, resolved to take steps toward the building of a Kirk. Accordingly, early in 1829, on the 17th of February, a public meeting, presided over by Mr. G. N. Smith, was held in the 'Tank House' (or Fire Station) at which meeting the following resolutions were passed:

"Whereas;--A number of persons in this community approving of the articles of faith and the mode of worship adopted by the Kirk of Scotland and feeling deeply sensible of the inestimable blessings to be enjoyed by the establishment and maintenance of pure and undefiled religion and being persuaded that the government of the Kirk of Scotland is grounded upon the word of God, in humble dependance upon Divine aid, do consider it to be their duty without further delay to adopt such means as may by Divine blessings bring about the foundation and establishment of a church in connection with the Church of Scotland. Therefore---

Resolved---That the following plan be adopted as a means best calculated to effect so desirable an object.

1st. To receive by voluntary contributions such a sum of money as may be necessary to procure a piece of ground on which to erect a suitable building for public worship and to defray the expense of erecting the same.

2nd. So soon as the sum of 750 pounds shall be raised a committee shall be chosen who shall superintend the erection and completion of the same agreeable to plan.

3rd. So soon as such building is erected and fitted for the performance of public worship a minister and elders shall be

1--From a paper prepared (Sept. 1927) on the History of St. Paul's Church, by S. H. MacFarlane, Esq., Fredericton.

2--Rev. James Souter, in a letter written in March, 1829, (Letter # 47, G. C. S. Corr. Book 3) states: "When the writer was at Fredericton a meeting of the friends of the Kirk in that town was held and a subscription entered into for erecting of a Kirk there in connection with the Established Church of Scotland."

3--From a more complete paper, also by Mr. MacFarlane, on the History of St. Paul's, prepared in 1928.

4--Mr. MacFarlane's 1927 paper states: "Sir Howard Douglas headed the new list with 20 pounds as his first subscription."

duly appointed and chosen according to the usages of the said Kirk of Scotland.

4th. Application to be made to the Legislature for an act to pass to incorporate such minister and elders upon the same terms as the Act of Incorporation for the minister and elders of the Churches of Scotland at St. John and St. Andrew's.

5th. When the ministers and elders become a body incorporate, the building with grounds shall become the property of the said corporation and their successors.

That James Taylor, Jr. be secretary and T. R. Robertson treasurer to the society, that the following persons with the secretary and treasurer be a committee to solicit subscriptions in Fredericton and elsewhere and to manage the affairs of the society, namely, Wm. Taylor, Thomas Stewart, Thos. Aitken, Thos. C. Everett and James Willcox; that the committee correspond with Rev. Dr. Burns of St. John and the Rev. Mr. MacLean of St. Andrew's requesting their assistance in aid of the funds of the society in their respective congregations;

That a copy of the proceedings of the meeting be laid before His Excellency, Sir Howard Douglas."

The committee above-named met with a very encouraging response, and in the following year the church was erected.¹ At that time it was expected that one, Ebenezer Johnston, was to become their minister, but in this, for a time at least, they were disappointed as Mr. Johnston did not arrive that year but wrote to tell them that he would be out in the spring.²

The Church was opened for worship early in 1831 by the Rev. James Souter of St. James' Church, Newcastle.³ Later in that year Mr. Johnston arrived, but, not being ordained, he officiated for

1--Croil, The Presbyterian, Dec. 1875, p. 288.

2--Souter, writing under date of Jan. 11th, 1831 (Letter # 3, Book 4, G. C. S. Corr.) states: "I have made particular enquiries regarding the Scottish Church now built at Fredericton, and understand that it is quite finished and that the people are not a little disappointed at the Rev. Mr. Johnston's (from Kirkcaldy, who had the appointment nearly twelve months ago) not having arrived this fall as they had expected. He has written them, I believe, that he intends to come out next spring----. I have agreed to visit them soon and open the Church."

3--Croil, The Presbyterian, Dec. 1875, p. 288.

only a short time.¹ Then, following his removal, steps were taken to secure a regular and ordained man, with the result that the

Rev. John Birkmyre² was chosen for this important charge. The seventh annual report of the Glasgow Colonial Society (1833) contains the following statement as being of interest in connection with the selection of Mr. Birkmyre:

"At Fredericton, the Capital of the Province and the seat of the Colonial Legislature, a flourishing Scottish Church has been erected, and by the same gentlemen who acted as commissioners in the settlement of St. John, and who are directors of your society, the Rev. John Birkmyre, A. M., was selected as first minister. He was ordained by the Presbytery of Paisley in the end of July last and he entered on his charge at Fredericton in the beginning of November following. He was introduced by Mr. Wilson of St. John and received a cordial welcome from the people at large."(3)

Rev. Mr. Birkmyre continued his labours in Fredericton until the latter part of the year 1841, when, due to the delicate state of Mrs. Birkmyre's health,⁴ he returned to Scotland.⁵ It was during his ministry, in the year 1836, that the manse was built,⁶ and that, four years later, the Church was enlarged. As a preacher,⁷ he was spoken of as being "talented and acceptable," as a gentle-

1--Croil, The Presbyterian, Dec. 1875, p. 288. Gregg, p. 292, refers to Mr. Johnston as a licentiate of the Church of Scotland.

2--Mr. Birkmyre was born in Kilbarchan, Dec. 14th, 1796. He was educated at Glasgow University, graduating in 1816. Following his return from New Brunswick, he was admitted to Dean Parish, Edinburgh, May 2nd, 1844. He died June 6th, 1864. (Fasti, I, 30; VII, 608.)

3--The following notice appears on the first page of the records of Session of St. Paul's: "The Rev. John Birkmyre, D. D. was inducted into the pastoral charge of St. Paul's Church, Fredericton, N. B. by the Rev. Robert Wilson, M. A., Minister of St. Andrew's Church, Saint John on Sabbath the 4th day of November, 1832." St. Paul's dates its beginning from the induction of Mr. Birkmyre. (From Mr. MacFarlane's '1928' History of St. Paul's.)

4--Souter's letter in Sept. issue of Missionary Record, 1843.

5--Shortly after his arrival in Scotland Mr. Birkmyre tendered his resignation as pastor of St. Paul's. The congregation at once sent him a resolution of sympathy and regret, which resolution and Mr. Birkmyre's reply are on file in the Session records.

6--MacFarlane's '1927' History.

7--Souter, Letter # 145, G.C.S. Corr., Bk. 5, dated June 25, 1833.

man and scholar as being "fine and accomplished,"¹ and as a
worker in the congregation as being "eminently successful."¹

¹--MacFarlane's '1927' History of St. Paul's.

CHAPTER V .

From Presbytery to Synod.

1833 --- 1835.

The Presbytery of New Brunswick in connection with the Church of Scotland¹ was formed in the latter part of January, 1833. Following is the account of the meeting of organization as contained in the Royal Gazette of February 6th of that year:

"The clergymen of the Church of Scotland within this Province, having considered themselves bound by the laws and practices of the Establishment to which they belong to form an ecclesiastical union, and being duly impressed with a sense of the advantages likely to result from it, met according to previous arrangement in St. Paul's Church, Fredericton, on Wednesday, 30th ult.

"Present: The Rev. Alexander MacLean of St. Andrew's; James Souter, A. M., of Newcastle, Miramichi; Robert Wilson, A. M., of St. John; James Steven, of Restigouche; John Birkmyre, A. M., of Fredericton; and Angus MacKenzie, Esq., ruling elder from St. John.

"After an excellent and appropriate sermon by the Rev. Alexander MacLean from Acts xx, 27, the several representatives of the congregations formed themselves by prayer into a Presbytery in connection with the Church of Scotland, to be called the PRESBYTERY OF NEW BRUNSWICK.

"Amongst other deliberations the members, feelingly alive to

1--In the Halifax Guardian of June 6th, 1838, we read the following: "In the course of the next year they (the members of the newly formed Presbytery) were gratified by the authoritative approval of the step they had thus taken, which is implied in the 'Declaratory Enactment' of the venerable General Assembly of their Church in that year recommending and regulating such organizations." For copy of this Declaratory Enactment taken from "Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1638--1842, reprinted from the Original Edition, under the Superintendence of the Church Law Society," pages 1023, 1024, see Appendix II.

the destitute condition of many of the Presbyterians throughout the Province in respect of religious ordinances, have made arrangements for procuring a missionary from Scotland, to itinerate within their bounds. They expect that, by the kind assistance of the Colonial Society, he will arrive in the course of the ensuing summer. Before another meeting of Presbytery there will be an increase in the number of its members, as the Rev. Peter McIntyre, being appointed to the Church of St. James, Charlotte County, will join the congregation in the spring; and a clergyman will be speedily selected for the congregations of Tabusintac and Bay du Vin. Both these gentlemen will be capable of preaching in Gaelic as well as in English. Further arrangements are in progress for supplying the wants of other settlements in a similar manner.

"The members of Presbytery fervently hope and pray that the union now auspiciously formed will, under the divine blessing, promote the glory of God by the extension of His Kingdom."

The first minister to arrive in New Brunswick following the formation of the Presbytery was, as suggested in the above report,

Rev. Peter McIntyre, who took up his work in
 Early history
 of Presbyterian-
 ism in St. James
 the charge of St. James in the summer of that
 same year (1833). But before taking up the story
 of his ministry in that charge, let us

glance briefly back over the strange and interesting history of the Parish of St. James, and of the early history too of the cause of Presbyterianism in that parish. St. James was made up of Highland settlers who had come out to America from Sutherlandshire, having sailed from there on the 16th of May 1803 and having landed at Boston just three months later, on the 16th of August. In the spring of 1804 they moved north to British territory, intending to settle on the hardwood ridges of Charlotte Co. But difficulties in the obtaining of grants caused their removal for a time to Digby, from which place they were brought back again to Charlotte Co. by wealthy Scots in St. Andrew's. This time they obtained their grants as desired and by the fall of 1805 they were

1--Condensed from 'History of St. James,' as contained in the the paper 'Colonial Presbyterian.' (St. John.) See Appendix F (pages 521 ff.) of Patterson's 'Memoirs of Dr. MacGregor.'

quite settled and were meeting in the different homes for worship, that worship consisting of singing, prayer and questioning.

In the years that followed they were ministered to by different ministers of various sects and denominations, among whom were the Rev. D. MacCayl¹ of St. Stephen; Dr. MacGregor of Pictou, Rev. Mr. MacCallum of the Congregational Church, Sheffield; and the Rev. James Wilson from the North of Ireland.² Mr. Wilson, during his stay (they having but two elders) ordained five additional elders.

In 1825, hearing of the Glasgow Colonial Society and of its sending of missionaries to the colonies, the people of St. James decided to build a church and to apply for a minister. The Church, a building 42 by 36, with end gallery and tower, was begun in the summer of 1826. Subscriptions were obtained from various towns in the vicinity, and from the city of St. John. By the fall of that year the Church was boarded in and the roof shingled and painted; then work ceased for lack of funds.

It was about this time that a Rev. Mr. MacLeod³ of Pictou came to St. James. His knowledge of the Gaelic endeared him at once to many of the Highland settlers. But also there were many who were opposed to him, and thus an unfortunate division took place among the Presbyterians of that parish, which division was not healed until Mr. MacLeod's removal over three years later.

1--Cr Duncan McColl, of St. Stephen. He is referred to in D. W. Johnson's 'History of Methodism in Eastern British America' as a doughty Scotch soldier who laboured in and about St. Stephen in the cause of Methodism for over 40 years until his death in 1830. (pages 213, 214).

2--See previous chapter on the Secession Church.

3--Rev. A. MacLean's letter in the G. C. S. Corr., Book 3. Letter is no. 216, and dated Sept. 28th, 1831.

Then early in 1830, at their request, Rev. Mr. MacLean visited them and they took heart again. Further aid was received from various sources and by the summer of the next year the Church was completed and was dedicated by the Rev. Mr. MacLean.¹

That same summer also (August 1831) a meeting of the congregation of St. James was held and a bond was made out for 80 pounds and sent to the Glasgow Colonial Society requesting that a minister be sent to them as they were "sighing for the time when Providence would be pleased to send them a pastor who would lead their devotions according to the much-loved rite of their Fathers!"² In due time this request came before the Colonial Society and in the sixth annual report of that society (1832) it is recorded that the directors pledge 50 pounds additional to the intendant missionary, paying also the cost of his passage and outfit.³ In August⁴ of that year Rev. Peter MacIntyre⁵ accepted the appointment and the

seventh annual report of the Glasgow Colonial
Rev. Peter Society refers to his intending to sail for his
MacIntyre⁶
new charge in the spring. However, for domestic⁷
reasons, he was not able to leave as soon as he had expected
and it was not until on in the summer of that year (1833) that he⁸
arrived and was inducted into the pastoral charge of St. James.

1--Letter of Rev. A. MacLean # 216, G.C.S. Corr. dated Sep. 28, 1831.
2--Same letter as above. The bond accompanying it was made out for 80 pounds per annum for three years to be paid quarterly and was signed by James MacKenzie, John MacKenzie, John MacLeod, Dan'l Morrison, Don. McDowell, Robert Matheson.

3--From the Minute Book No. 2 of the G. C. S. we learn that Mr. MacIntyre was granted 15 pounds for books, 5 pounds for private use and 10 pounds for libraries and small books in English and Gaelic.

4--Minute Book No. 2 of the G. C. S. August 17th, 1832.

5--Mr. MacIntyre was born in 1810 in Kilchrenan, Argyll and educated at the University of Glasgow. Fasti, VII, 610.

6--Rev. A. MacLean (Letter # 29, G.C.S. Corr. Bk 5, dated Feb. 22, 1833) refers to this appointment to St. James "as cold waters to the thirsty souls."

7--Letter of Mr. MacIntyre, No. 76, G. C. S. Corr., Bk. 5.

8--Letter of Mr. MacIntyre, dated March 7th, 1834, in the eighth annual report of the G. C. S. (1835)

Perhaps the best description that can be given of the first winter's work of Mr. MacIntyre in St. James is to be found in his own letter written under date of March 7th, 1834.¹

"Since my induction to this parish," so reads the letter, "I have been labouring the best way I could in this dreary wilderness. The parish is at least 16 miles in length and is inhabited at both extremes. The Church, which is an elegant wooden building capable of accommodating nearly 400 people, is built within three miles of the southern extremity, so that nearly half of the population, or nearly 400 souls, are cut off from all religious instruction except what I can give them occasionally on week days."

The letter goes on to state that another church is therefore needed, that a Sunday School has been started, that he preaches in both English and Gaelic and that often on Sabbath evening, at the request of the people of St. Stephen, he preaches for them in that town.

At the meeting of the Presbytery in June, 1835, Mr. MacIntyre requested a renewal of his grant after the present arrangements had run out, and that for the following reasons; that the people were poor, that the cause would suffer a division were the minister to withdraw and that the growing work in the charges of St. Stephen and St. David's rendered it necessary that a minister should be near at hand to encourage them. And indeed to such good effect did Mr. MacIntyre carry on his work in St. Stephen that in the ninth annual report of the Glasgow Colonial Society (1836) there is to be found the following notice.

"The friends of the Church of Scotland in St. Stephen are resolved on having a minister of their own, and upwards of 500 pounds have already been subscribed for the erection of a Church. In the meantime the valuable, gratuitous services of Mr. MacIntyre entitle him to the most ardent and lasting gratitude."

And on the 21st of April, 1836, Mr. MacIntyre himself writes to³

1--Letter contained in eighth annual report of G. C. S. (1835)
 2--Letter of Rev. A. MacLean, # 165, G.C.S. Corr. Bk.6, dated Sept. 2nd, 1835.
 3--Letter # 28, Bk. 7, G. C. S. Correspondence.

state that such progress is being made toward the plans for the building of a Church that "it is thought the outside will be finished before winter." And this would not likely have been,"had I agreed to go to St. John" in accordance with the wishes of that city. "If things will go on as favourably as I expect," continues Mr. MacIntyre,"an application will be made to your society through the Presbytery in September next, if not sooner, for a clergyman (for St. Stephen) also for some pecuniary aid."

The faithful work of Mr. MacIntyre however, so promisingly begun, came suddenly to an end by his deeply lamented death early in the year 1837. The following reference to his early decease is made in the tenth annual report of the Glasgow Colonial Society (1837):

"The Society is called to mourn the removal by death, after a short illness, of the Rev. Peter MacIntyre of St. James, New Brunswick. The directors have cause of gratitude for thinking that the appointment of Mr. MacIntyre to St. James proved a boon of no ordinary value to the people of that interesting settlement, and they sympathize with them most sincerely in the loss which his premature removal has occasioned."

So ended the work of Mr. MacIntyre in St. James and St.

- 1--Mr. MacIntyre, in this same letter, gives as the immediate reason for the Presbyterians in St. Stephen going ahead with the building of a church, the fact that the Methodists, moved with jealousy, had closed to them their chapel, and that, the schoolhouse, not being large enough to hold half the congregation, it was proposed to build a Kirk and a committee^{was} formed for that purpose. The letter also goes on to state that the minister appointed to St. Stephen "must have popular talents and piety, as he must contend with Methodists and Episcopalians." His, he states, is the largest congregation, and the Episcopalian minister, he continues, is as crafty as a fox, and as for the Methodists, "they have no learning, but they are a sly sneaking set, and compass sea and land to make proselytes." The letter concludes with the statement that he has four other stations and that the work in St. Stephen is gratis.
- 2--This report is contained in the Colonial Reports of the Church of Scotland, 1837--1857.
- 3-- Rev. Robert Wilson, of St. John, writing in the Missionary Record of Sept. 1840, states, "The hallowed recollection of Mr. MacIntyre's talents, indefatigable zeal and success are still fresh in the hearts of the people. Let me just record, as a proof of their

Stephen, and although many urgent requests were made, not until after four years had passed were they able to obtain a successor. (Their further history is taken up on pages 122 and 123)

On the day following the formation of the Presbytery of New Brunswick, (January 31st, 1833) Angus MacKenzie wrote the Glasgow Colonial Society¹ in regard to the obtaining Application for² of an itinerant missionary for New Brunswick, and requesting that 50 pounds per Missionary³ annum be added to their own joint bond of 100 pounds per annum for three years. In the same letter also he states that the missionary would be expected to spend five months in the northeastern part of the Province and seven months in the western part, and that, as to qualifications, it were better that he should be single, in the prime of his life, and already ordained.

The request of the Presbytery, with bond attached, came before the Glasgow Colonial Society at its meeting in April of that same year and Dr. Robert Burns proposed that the grant of 50 pounds per annum be acceded to. The appointment⁴ of the missionary

deep and affectionate interest which the labours of his life and his premature death excited among other people as well as his own, that about sixty sleighs, laden with mourners of various denominations, accompanied his mortal remains about seven miles from St. Stephen, the place of his death, to the place of his internment." In this same letter, Mr. Wilson states that, following Mr. MacIntyre's death, Rev. A. MacLean visited them every three weeks and held a week night service.

1--Letter No. 16, G. C. S. Correspondence, Book 5.

2--Rev. A. MacLean (Letter # 29, Bk. 5, G. C. S. Corr.) also makes reference to the signing of a bond for an itinerant missionary.

3--From 'Minute Book No. 2' of the G. C. S., minutes for April 22nd, 1833, we learn that of this hundred pounds, St. John's share was 45 pounds, Charlotte County's, 23 pounds, Fredericton's, 12 pounds, Miramichi's, 10 pounds and Restigouche's, 10 pounds. (See pages 68--70 of Minute Book.)

4--See also pages 68--70 of Minute Book No. 2 of G. C. S.

fell upon one, James Hannay,¹ who, in July of that year was ordained by the Presbytery of Stranraer and soon after set sail for New Brunswick.

Rev. James

Hannay,

Missionary

On the 4th of September of that year (1833)² the Presbytery of New Brunswick again met, this time in Newcastle, and Rev. James Hannay was sent to Richibucto for a period of two months. In that charge his labours were not without result, as is evidenced by the following extract from his letter of November the 15th, 1833.³

"I have much pleasure in informing you that the Church and congregation at Richibucto have attached themselves to the Church of Scotland. During the last seven years this congregation has had the services of a minister of the Secession (Rev. John MacLean) who, owing to the state of his health has been under the necessity of yielding up his charge, and, as it is not improbable that an application may be made to your society to select a pastor for them, it may be of advantage to state that their late minister is everywhere regarded as a man of very excellent attainments, and that therefore a person of experience and talents would be the more likely to succeed well. I consider this an excellent opening for a minister with proper qualifications, indeed there are few to be met with in all respects its equal." (4)

1--Mr. Hannay was born in Stoneycirk, Feb. 18th, 1799, and was educated at the University of Glasgow. Fasti III, 361.

2--At this meeting of Presbytery a Mr. Alexander Farquharson of Scotland was ordained. (Letter of Rev. A. MacLean, # 195, Bk. 5, G.C.S. Corr. dated Sept. 23rd, 1833.) Mr. Farquharson was a Gaelic-speaking licentiate of the Church of Scotland. Following his ordination he took up work for a time as itinerant missionary in Cape Breton, later settling in Middle River. (Gregg, 340) Regarding this ordination the Halifax Guardian, June 6th, 1838, contains the following:

"The strongest evidence of parental recognition that could be given was afforded to the new Presbytery (of New Brunswick) in the shape of an invitation to it from the Glasgow Colonial Society to proceed to the ordination of one of the missionaries of the latter body."

3--Letter no. 214, Bk. 5, G. C. S. Corr.

4--This was not the first time that Richibucto had expressed a desire for the services of a minister of the Church of Scotland. According to the first annual report of the G. C. S. (1826): "The first (request) in order of time was from the settlers at Richibucto amounting to 100 families and the number increasing annually by new arrivals. They have begun to build a church and expect very soon to be able to make offers of support for a minister, and so soon as the application is renewed in the shape of a specific proposal, the committee will be ready to lend every assistance in their power." This would be about 1825. However, this time, as has been seen, they called Rev. John MacLean of the Secession Church.

Following his work in the charge of Richibucto, Mr. Hannay set out on a tour of visitation to the various communities in the northern part of New Brunswick, under the supervision of Rev. James Souter of Newcastle, and from the same letter as above (written from Miramichi) we get the following detailed account of his missionary travels:

"The labours of a missionary, though considerable, are less than might be expected, considering the nature of the country. Many of the roads are good, and the travelling consequently pleasant. As a specimen, I quote from my diary of the last twelve days: Friday---Rode from here to Black River, a distance of 16 miles, visited several families there.

Saturday--Proceeded to Richibucto, a distance of 32 miles from Black River.

Sunday--Preached at Richibucto and returned in the evening to Kouchibouguac, 14 miles from Richibucto, and lectured and preached to the settlers there who form a part of the Richibucto congregation

Monday--Returned to Newcastle, 34 miles.

Wednesday--Proceeded on my way to Tabusintac and on

Thursday--arrived at Burnt Church, on the Miramichi River, having gone the latter part of the way in a canoe. In the evening, lectured and preached to about 60 persons belonging exclusively to the congregation of Tabusintac, and also baptized two children.

Friday--Proceeded by canoe to Negawack, a French settlement, and walked to the portage to Tabusintac.

Saturday--Preached in the schoolhouse and baptized 9 children.

Sunday--Lectured and preached in the Church, and, although the day was uncommonly boisterous, a large and attentive congregation was present.

Monday--Returned by portage and canoe as before to Burnt Church; left the latter place at dusk the same evening, and slept that night 10 miles further up the river.

Tuesday--Arrived at Newcastle, thus having completed a journey of 200 miles and delivered 9 discourses in the space of 12 days.

I understand that there are at Bathurst a number of real friends of our Church, and I trust the time is not far distant when our cause shall be established there."

The letter continues with a reference to the improved conditions in that district, to the new respect which is shown to the Sabbath, and ends with a postscript to the effect that calls have just been presented to him from Richibucto and Chatham, which calls will be referred to the consideration of the Presbytery.

Note: Croil's article in the December Presbyterian of 1875 (p. 289) refers to Mr. Hannay as having visited Woodstock also in the course of his missionary journeys.

A few weeks after the above letter was written, the Presbytery of New Brunswick again met, and the matter of the two calls to Mr. Hannay was brought up. It was decided that as Chatham and

Richibucto were equally destitute, that Mr. Hannay should be given his choice, and, that¹ done, he elected to go to Richibucto. In the nature of the case, such an acceptance by the missionary of a settled charge, meant that the Presbytery must again petition the Glasgow Colonial Society for another itinerant missionary to take his place. And it was only after repeated requests that another missionary was obtained. However, the story of that will be taken up later. (Pages 107 and following.)

To return again to the work of Mr. Hannay, and before leaving entirely the story of his brief term as Province missionary, it will be interesting here to quote an extract from a letter of his contained in the eighth annual report of the Glasgow Colonial Society, (1835) in which, after telling of his having travelled about a thousand miles in his missionary tours, he goes on to stress the importance of the work of the itinerant missionary.

"The advantages to be derived from missionary labours," so writes Mr. Hannay, "I consider as incalculable; not so much in consequence of the transient visits and services of the missionary producing striking and immediate reformation in the life and conversation of the people, as the tendency they have to induce a longing for the administration of religious ordinances such as to stir them up to those exertions which are necessary for that purpose. In a missionary, popular gifts are indispensable."

Early in the next year after Mr. Hannay had settled in Richibucto, Rev. James Souter, in a letter dated February 5th, 1835,² pays the following brief tribute to his work:

1--Letter of Mr. Souter, No. 8, Bk. 6, G. C. S. Corr., dated Feb. 3rd, 1834.

2--Letter # 104, Book 6, G. C. S. Correspondence.

"Rev. Mr. Hannay occupies a very important and promising field at Richibucto and his faithful services continue to be duly appreciated by his people. It is worthy of notice that he is the only Protestant clergyman of any denomination settled in the county of Kent"

for over eleven years Mr. Hannay laboured in the charge of Richibucto. For a time in the latter part of his ministry he was Moderator of Synod.¹ On the 30th of May, 1845,² Mr. Hannay, with his family,³ sailed from St. John for Scotland, and two years later he was admitted to the "ministry of Milngavie."⁴

Mr. Hannay's acceptance of Richibucto left St. Andrew's Church, Chatham, still in need of a minister, and their application to the Glasgow Colonial Society (with bond⁵ attached for 112 pounds per annum) was renewed. And not only that charge, but also Tabusintac, the work in which field will be dealt with later, was also very desirous of a minister of the Church of Scotland. Accordingly Souter in his letter of February 3rd, 1834,⁶ calls attention to the great need in these two fields in the following terms:

"Had we Chatham and Tabusintac filled up we shall have nearly secured this side of the Province for our Church and be able to form a Provincial Synod of at least two respectable Presbyteries. This is much wanted, as owing to our distance from one another we are at present unable to hold as many meetings yearly as the business of the Church requires.

"Mr. Hannay has called attention to Tabusintac and I am sure the Society will not overlook it. Matters have reached a crisis with us; if the Society can support us we shall have little to dread from the inroads of other sects; if the present opportunity is lost, we shall lose one, if not both, of these important stations."

1--While Moderator (for a time there being no Clerk, the former one having returned to Scotland and Mr. MacLean having evidently not yet been appointed) under date of Apr. 27, 1843 (see Record, Sept. 1843) he writes the Colonial Committee re the questionnaire sent out by them, dated Oct. 1842, requesting the number of N.B. Presbyterian inhabitants (Hannay states there were from 20,000 to 25,000), the number of ministers, missionaries, preaching stations, asking also of education, moral character of people and Sunday observance.

2--Halifax Guardian, June 6, 1845. 3--James Hannay, D.C.L. author of 'History of New Brunswick,' was Rev. Mr. Hannay's son.

4--Fasti, VII, 609.

5--Communication, no. 9, Bk. 6, G. C. S. Corr.

6--Letter # 8, Bk. 6, G.C.S. Corr.

This time the request of Chatham (as was also that of Tabusintac) was more successful, and the Rev. Robert Archibald¹

Rev. Robert Archibald,
Chatham

was duly appointed and ordained by the Presbytery of Stirling to that charge, where he² arrived in July of 1834³. From the first he did splendid work, as is evidenced by the following extract from a letter of Souter's written a few months after his arrival:⁴

"Mr. Archibald has proved very acceptable to his flock, an efficient minister, and to me, an agreeable neighbour and brother. This congregation is now quite respectable, and considering the difficulties under which they had laboured, is much more numerous than was to be expected in so short a time. Mr. Archibald has thinned the ranks of the Dissenting Church much----its members no doubt feel greatly annoyed."

The next August, Alexander Fraser, Chairman of the Corporation of St. Andrew's Church writes in corroboration of the above letter and tells of their satisfaction at the good work done by Mr. Archibald,⁵ and in January of 1836⁶ Mr. Souter again writes to state that St. Andrew's Church had cleared itself of its burdens, that a "neat and substantial manse" had been erected for the minister, and that the congregation was "united and prosperous." And on the 7th of March of the next year Mr. Archibald himself⁷ writes to say that the work continues to prosper, that at their first communion there were 130 communicants and that by the second that number had increased to 170, and that the people had

1--Mr. Archibald was born in Tullibody, Alloa, 1804, and was educated at the University of Glasgow. Fasti III, p. 272.

2--The eighth annual report of the G. C. S. states that "the arrival of these two clergymen in the Province (Mr. Archibald and Mr. Fraser) has been hailed with peculiar satisfaction, and they are both laboriously and usefully employed in their respective charges!"

3--Souter's letter # 104, Bk. 6, G.C.S. Corr. dated Feb. 5, 1835.

4--Souter's letter # 91, Bk. 6, G.C.S. Corr. dated Dec. 1, 1834.

5--Letter # 157, Bk. 6, G. C. S. Corr. dated Aug. 2nd, 1835.

6--Letter # 8, Bk. 7, G. C. S. Corr. dated Jan. 26th, 1836.

7--Letter # 227, Bk. 7, G. C. S. Correspondence.

called him permanently.

Mr. Archibald remained in the charge of St. Andrew's Church for a pastorate of over nine years¹, in the latter part of which he held for a time the office of the Moderator of Presbytery². Then, late in the summer of 1843³ he returned to Scotland and the Miramichi Gleaner of September 1st⁴ of that year tells of an address having been read to him on the occasion of his leaving the Church in Chatham. On the 14th of March, 1844, he was admitted to the charge of Kilbarchan. He died on the 13th⁵ of June, 1884.

Returning now to a study of Presbyterianism in Tabusintac, of which mention has already been made, it is of interest

to note that even as early as the year 1826 that Tabusintac charge is referred to in the correspondence of the Glasgow Colonial Society as being desirous of a catechist to "keep school, to teach English, writing and arithmetic and church music."⁶ Reference to their application is made in the second annual report of the Society (1828). It reads as follows:

"An application has been made for a schoolmaster and catechist for the settlement of Tabusintac, Parish of Alnwick, County of Northumberland, New Brunswick, transmitted by the hand of Mr.

1--Late in 1842 Mr. Archibald was drawn into a sharp controversy with Rev. James Hudson, an Anglican minister at large in the district. See a letter of his in Miramichi Gleaner, Dec. 27, 1842, and contained in Willet's manuscript scrap book.

2--Missionary Record, June 1841.

3--Croil (page 294) says, "Mr. Archibald was very popular, but, having entangled himself in politics, he shared the fate of some other illustrious men when the vox populi turned against them---so he parted from them."

4--Quoted from Gleaner by Halifax Guardian of Sept. 8th, 1843.

5--Fasti, III, p. 272.

6--Rev. James Thompson's letter, No. 55, G. C. S. Corr. Bk. 1, dated Jan. 15th, 1826.

John Kerr, Greenock. The encouragement offered is 50 pounds currency per annum, including the government allowance of twenty pounds together with bed, board and other accommodations."

The catechist who came, a young man, did not remain with them for long and left them early in 1829¹, leaving them again destitute. But that they did not let the work go down is seen in a letter written by Mr. Souter to the Glasgow Colonial Society under date of January 11th, 1831², in which he states:

"I had a call lately from John Campbell, Esqr and Mr. MacLeod, two of the principal supporters of the new Scotch Church building at Tabusintac, near the mouth of the Miramichi River, who report the building to be going forward. I encouraged them in their good work and promised to visit them and preach to them in the course of the season."

The next year they sent forward a bond to the Glasgow Colonial Society and accompanying the bond was a letter from Mr. Souter describing fully the situation in that charge. Following is the relative part of the letter:³

"I have now the pleasure of transmitting to you a bond from a number of the inhabitants of Tabusintac to the annual amount of 60 pounds on New Brunswick currency for the period of five years, for one half of a clergyman's services, and one of a similar description from the inhabitants of Bay de Vin and Black River--.. The case of the inhabitants of Tabusintac has more than once been alluded to in your society's report. The settlement is about 60 years standing; it contains from 40 to 50 families, four-fifths of whom at least belong to the Church of Scotland. They are chiefly engaged in lumbering and farming .

"A church 36 by 26 has been built, and is quite finished externally, and is partly finished internally.---You may judge of their destitution in regard to religious instruction when I inform you that they have never had a settled clergyman amongst them. They attended well when I preached."

The letter goes on to state that Rev. Mr. Johnston got the

1--Early in 1830, Rev. James Thompson wrote the G. C. S. (Letter #139, Bk. 3, G. C. S. Corr.) stating that the young catechist at Tabusintac left them a year ago.

2--Letter # 3, Book 4, G. C. S. Correspondence.

3--Letter # 109, Bk. 4, G.C.S. Corr. dated April 6th, 1832.

bond from the other section of the field, Bay de Vin and Black River, and also^{xhat} it was desired that the minister who should be appointed should have a knowledge of the Gaelic.

Two years went by before they received a minister in answer to their request. Finally, however, in the fall of 1834¹ their

Rev. Simon² hearts were cheered with the arrival of Rev. Simon Fraser. He began his work in the 'Bay de Vin, Black River' section of the field, entering upon his new

charge "with much prospect of usefulness," the people of those districts being "delighted with him."³ Six weeks he would spend in one part of the field and six weeks in the other. His knowledge of the Gaelic was a wonderful help to him, enabling him, as it did, to speak to the Highlanders of his extended field, "in their own tongue of the wonderful works of God."⁴

Mr. Fraser, not having been ordained previous to his sailing for New Brunswick, a meeting of the Presbytery of Miramichi was called and on the 16th of January, 1835, his ordination took place in St. Andrew's Church, Chatham, on which occasion Mr. Han-
nay preached and Mr. Souter presided. "Although the day was unfavourable, the Church was crowded and the solemn services listened to with great attention."⁵

By the month of June of that year (1835) the Church in Tabusintac was completely finished and incorporated and 200 pounds were on hand for the building of a Church in Black River.⁶⁷

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- 1--Souter's letter # 104, Book 6, G.C.S. Corr. dated Feb. 5, 1835.
 2--Mr. Fraser was born in Boleskine in 1806 and was educated at Kings College, Aberdeen. He was librarian there from 1830 to 1834. His death occurred on the 6th of September, 1887. Fasti VII, 9.
 3--Souter's letter # 91, Bk. 6, G.C.S. Corr. dated Dec. 1, 1834.
 4--Eighth annual report of the G. C. S. (1835)
 5--Souter's letter # 104, Bk. 6, G.C.S. Corr. dated Feb. 5, 1835.
 6--Souter's letter # 8, Bk. 7, G.C.S. Corr. dated Jan. 26, 1836. The Tabusintac Church is here referred to as the "Church in Alnwick," as that place was a part of the Alnwick Parish.
 7--Here referred to as the Church in "Glenelg," (Souter's letter # 104, Book 6, G. C. S. Corr.)

Parish of Glenelg, which latter Church was built in 1836.¹ The following year the first elders of that Church were ordained.¹

Mr. Fraser laboured in this, his extended field, for over five years and during his ministry such progress was made that both sections of the field were able to send separate bonds to the Glasgow Colonial Society, each requesting a minister of its own. The bond from Tabusintac came before the Presbytery meeting in October, 1837, whereas that from Black River, that place not being so well-to-do, did not come to hand until March of 1838. Kouchibouguac, to which Mr. Fraser went every third Sabbath, joined Black River in its request for a minister.³ Then early in the year 1840, to the regret of his people, Mr. Fraser resigned his charge and returned to Scotland.⁴ His work was later taken up by Rev. John Macbean and Rev. Angus MacMaster, the story of whose ministries, however, will be reserved until another chapter.

(See pages 145 to 148)

By the beginning of 1835, as can be seen in this chapter, the number of Church of Scotland ministers in the Province had so increased that it was decided that the Presbytery of New Brunswick should erect itself into a Synod. Accordingly, at a meeting of Presbytery held in St. Andrew's⁵ on the 12th of June, 1835, inter alia,

1--Croil, in Dec. issue of Presbyterian, 1875, page 294.

2--Fairly early in his New Brunswick ministry, Mr. Fraser, by advice of Presbytery, declined a call to Roger's Hill, N. S., much to the satisfaction of his people." Souter's letter # 8, Bk. 7, G.C.S. Corr. dated Jan. 26th, 1836.

3--Mr. Fraser's letter in G.C.S. Corr. Book 8. No number to letter but it is dated Glenelg, Dec. 9th, 1838.

4--Souter's letter in Missionary Record of Sept. 1843.

5--Rev. A. MacLean's letter # 165, Bk. 6, G.C.S. Corr. dated Sep. 2, 1835

"On motion of Mr. MacLean, seconded by Mr. Birkmyre, it was unanimously resolved, that it is necessary and expedient that this Presbytery do now erect itself into a Provincial Synod, and immediately divide itself into two Presbyteries, to be called the Presbyteries of St. John and Miramichi. (1)

(2) "It was then moved by Mr. Birkmyre, seconded by Mr. Rankin, and unanimously resolved, that the Rev. Alexander MacLean, the senior minister of this body, be the first Moderator of the newly formed Synod, and the Rev. Mr. Wilson was appointed Synod Clerk." (3)

So was formed the first Synod of New Brunswick in connection with the Church of Scotland, and with numbers slowly yet steadily increasing it carried on through the years.

1--Personell of the Presbytery of St. John.

Rev. Robert Wilson, St. John.
 Rev. Alexander MacLean, St. Andrew's.
 Rev. John Birkmyre, Fredericton.
 Rev. Peter MacIntyre, St. James.

Personell of the Presbytery of Miramichi.

Rev. James Souter, Newcastle.
 Rev. James Steven, Restigouche.
 Rev. James Hannay, Richibucto.
 Rev. Robert Archibald, Chatham.
 Rev. Simon Fraser, Tabusintac and Black River.

2--In all probability, Alexander Rankin of the Miramichi mentioned in connection with the Deputations. (p. 184)

3--Croil, in The Presbyterian, page 285, states in reference to this account: "The following extracts from the minutes kindly furnished by Rev. William MacMillan, of Saltsprings, are interesting as an authentic account of the institution of the Synod of New Brunswick."

According to the personell as given in this article, all the above mentioned ministers were present except Revs. Steven, Hannay and Archibald.

CHAPTER VI.

State of the Presbyterian Church in New Brunswick in connection with the Church of Scotland in the latter part of 1834. (Appendix to ninth annual report of the Glasgow Colonial Society.)

"At the meeting of the Presbytery of New Brunswick held in St. John the 3rd of September, 1834, it was resolved that an account of Presbyterianism within the sphere of the Presbytery's operation should be drawn up and transmitted to the Colonial Society.¹" The clerical members of the Presbytery were commissioned to prepare the reports relative to their respective fields, and that done, to send them on to Rev. A. MacLean of St. Andrew's who was to forward them to the Colonial Society in Glasgow. The last of the reports came to hand on the 28th of January, 1835,¹ and having in due time been transmitted to the Glasgow Colonial Society they were included in the appendix to the ninth annual report of that body.²

At this time, according to the census of 1834, the popul-

1--Halifax Guardian, June 6th, 1838.

2--Report for the year 1836. This report, as are the previous reports, is to be found in "North American Society" reports (2nd volume) in the archives of the legislative buildings, Toronto. The article here referred to relative to New Brunswick is on pages 44 and following of that report.

(Gregg's History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, pages 297--312, contains this report, in parts, abridged; while the reports of Messrs. Wilson, Birkmyre and MacLean are also to be found in the Halifax Guardian of 1838, the reports of the former two in the issue of July 11th and that of Rev. A. MacLean in the issues of July 18th and 25th and August 1st and 8th.)

ation of New Brunswick was 118,902 and of this number St. John County with 20,668 inhabitants had the largest population with Charlotte County second in the list with a population of 15,852. St. John itself had a population of 12,885, Fredericton, 3,000, and St. Andrew's, 1,995.

The first report, that of Rev. Mr. Wilson of St. John (a report not only of his own congregation in that city but also of the cause in the districts round about) reads as follows:

"The Scotch Church of St. John continues to flourish. All the seats are taken; and many have been desirous of obtaining pews who could not obtain accommodation. The number of communicants is now one hundred and eighty, and the Sabbath School, conducted by twenty-four or twenty-five male and female teachers, contains on its list of scholars nearly two hundred names. We trust that both the number of communicants will steadily increase, and that the Sabbath school will be more

Report of Rev. Robert Wilson,
St. John

instrumental in promoting the spiritual and eternal welfare of the teachers and their pupils. There are many scattered settlements of Presbyterians and others in the vicinity of St. John. Although several of these by uniting their contributions might maintain a clergyman; yet perhaps not one could singly accomplish that object. Indeed, though there are many Presbyterians between Fredericton and St. John, on the one hand, and a considerable number between St. Andrew's and St. John, on the other, those large portions of country are totally destitute of religious instruction according to the principles and forms of the Church of Scotland. In the following brief outline I shall merely notice those groups of Presbyterian population which come more nearly under my own eye and will probably be unnoticed by my clerical brethren Messrs MacLean and Birkmyre.

"(1) Norton, distant twenty-seven miles from St. John, is a flourishing and beautiful settlement. It lies chiefly in a valley, watered by the Kennebecasis River and contains eight Presbyterian families. A neat Presbyterian church was built here, but, as divine service has been seldom performed in it and no minister is fixed among them, it has never been entirely finished. The site is very pleasant. An English church and Baptist meeting-house stand about four miles distant from it.

(2) Springfield, fifteen miles beyond Norton, or forty-two miles north-east from St. John, has two settlements, an eastern and a western, and twelve Presbyterian families in each. The people here are almost entirely Presbyterians, not mixed, as in Norton,

and they are very warmly attached to the Church of their forefathers. I have now in my possession a bond for 30 pounds annually, which they would increase to 40 pounds currency, could they even obtain the sixth part of a clergyman's labours.

There is a flourishing Sabbath school among them, conducted by a very pious and zealous young man called McLauchlan, who arrived in America along with myself. In Springfield there is also a Presbyterian Church, but it is only rough-boarded, not shingled or floored. The hope of regular service would soon stimulate them to exertion for its completion.

(3) Sussex-vale, sometimes called, on account of its beauty, the Pleasant Valley, is distant from St. John about fifty miles. The farmers are more substantial than those of Springfield, having been longer settled. The population is very much divided in religious sentiment. Throughout the range of the valley there are about fifteen Presbyterian families, who, of course, must listen to such gospel ministrations as they may receive from clergymen of different denominations.

(4) Cumberland lies ten miles from the valley and is nearer St. John. I have not visited the place myself, but am informed by an aged catechist, Mr. Tennant, who has long and successfully itinerated among the Presbyterian settlements of the Province, that it, with some adjacent land, contains fifteen Presbyterian families.

(5) Salt Springs, distant from St. John twenty-eight miles, lies in a more easterly direction from us than Norton. There are eighteen or more Presbyterian families in it, and the surrounding vicinity is peopled chiefly by Scotch settlers. Norton, Springfield, Sussex-vale and Salt Springs have already, on a former occasion, jointly supported a Scotch clergyman, who, from all my information, discharged his duty among them with indefatigable zeal, and in a very acceptable manner.

(6) Black River settlements lie eighteen miles distant, south-east from St. John, and are formed on the banks of the Bay of Fundy. Their soil is good, and, therefore, the settlements make rather quick advances in comfort. Throughout the several adjoining places we may reckon twenty-eight Presbyterian families. As the roads have been very rough they have been less visited than some more distant settlements. The people are generally very indifferent about religion from their great lack of ordinances.

(7) Cumberland Bay, at Grand Lake, and Salmon River, which discharges itself into the Lake, have in their neighbourhood altogether fifty families of Presbyterian settlers. These, however are spread over a large portion of country, and being distant seventy or eighty miles from St. John, are seldom visited by ministers of the Church of Scotland. Calvinist Baptists are rather numerous among the Presbyterians. The settlement will become a very powerful one and should not be overlooked.

(8) There is a settlement of Irish Presbyterians, called Londonderry, or Irish Settlement, consisting of forty families, which are, so far as I could learn, almost exclusively attached to the doctrines and forms of our Church. They have sent a bond of sixteen pounds currency and only require a portion of a minister's services equivalent to the sum which they subscribe.

This settlement demands speedy attention like others, more especially as they now manifest a very excellent spirit.

(9) Dipper Harbour, west of St. John twenty-five miles, in the Bay of Fundy, comprehending a pretty extensive district, has about seventy Presbyterians. A meeting is held every Sabbath at the schoolhouse and conducted in the Presbyterian form. They are very indifferent to the Gospel as they have been cut off from intercourse with others by the almost impassable nature of their roads.

(10) South Bay, with Nerepis District, lying on the banks of the River St. John, in the Parish of Westfield, from five to twenty miles distant from our city, contains about sixteen to eighteen Presbyterian families. Besides these are several other settlements with which we have had little intercourse. Some scattered Presbyterians are found in New Jerusalem Settlement, Queen's County, at Loch Lomond and Quaco.

"In some of the above there are Sunday schools, in others not. The Sabbath, which is generally observed with outward decorum throughout the Province, is nevertheless in a few places profaned by everyday work. This occurs especially along the River Kennebecasis, which is a large tributary to the River St. John. A communicant of my own congregation mentioned to me that he had lived eight years in the interior of the country, which he left several years ago, and that during all that time he had not heard any blessing invoked on any meat of which the people partook. But now the aspect of things has greatly changed both in town and country. We earnestly desire that those who profess the doctrines and discipline of our Church, should be instructed according to the principles of our Church and their own conscientious views; and that they should not be left a prey to the crude notions and delusive views of religion, which are prevalent in many parts of the Province. May the destitute situation of many Presbyterian families, with regard to religious instruction, awaken the sympathy of their countrymen at home; and may the blessing of God rest on all exertions adopted for their spiritual welfare."

The report of Rev. John Birkmyre of Fredericton in the County of York is very brief. It reads as follows:

Rev. J. Birkmyre,

Fredericton

"The number of Presbyterians in the county of York is one thousand one hundred and fifty; in Fredericton and its immediate vicinity, there are six hundred; in the settlement of Prince William and Queensburg, two hundred; and in the settlements of Richmond and Richmond Creek, Parish of Woodstock, three hundred and fifty."

The report of Rev. Alexander MacLean of St. Andrew's is very full and complete. In it also there is included the

report of Rev. Peter MacIntyre of St. James. At that time,

Rev. A. MacLean and

Rev. P. MacIntyre,

Charlotte County

according to the census of 1834, "the

County of Charlotte contained 15,829

inhabitants, overspreading its ten

parishes as follows: St. Andrew's,

3,487; St. Stephen's, 2,707; St. George's, 2,321; St. David's,

1,575; St. Patrick's, 1,507; West Isles, 1,107; Grand Manan,

956; St. James', 927; Pennfield, 742 and Campobello about 500."

At that time too there were eleven clergymen in the County,

"four Episcopalian ministers, two Scottish Presbyterians, two

Calvinist Baptist, two Methodists and one Roman Catholic."

Regarding St. Andrew's, Mr. MacLean, after giving first a de-

scription of his church,¹ goes on to report as follows:

"The congregation may amount to about 500 of all ages, which will be deemed a fair proportion of the inhabitants when it is considered in reference to the entire population of the town which has also within it an Episcopalian Church, well endowed from various sources, established, too, for half a century, and including consequently, the oldest, wealthiest and most influential citizens. It has a Wesleyan Methodist meeting-house together with a Roman Catholic Chapel, the adherents of which are computed to form not much less than a third of the urban population.

"In June, 1825, the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered in our Church here to 53 communicants; and in July, 1834, the number of communicants on a similar occasion was 102."

In regard to the Sunday school, organized in November of 1824, but three months after his arrival, Mr. MacLean was able to report that it had continued to grow and that by 1834 it included 124 scholars. A Sunday evening class for young people, with a membership of about 50, he also had organized, the textbook for their study being "The Assembly's Shorter Catechism with proofs."

¹--For description of this Church, see p. 42.

As to the country portion of the Parish of St, Andrew's, Mr. MacLean reported it to be steadily growing with a population at that time of 1,532, nearly half of whom (he would judge) were Presbyterian. The average number of baptisms performed by him annually for the ten years preceding 1834 was 74, many of them, of course, being from other parishes where there was no Presbyterian minister.

(2) Coming now to the Parish of St. Stephen, Mr. MacLean reported of that parish as follows:

"In St. Stephen's an Episcopalian clergyman is stationed and in Milltown a Methodist. Throughout the parish there are probably 500 Presbyterians, or persons who would become such under favourable circumstances. No Presbyterian place of worship, however, has hitherto been erected."

"(3) St. George's Parish. In Mascareen, "so Mr. MacLean reports," the frame of a Scottish Church has been raised near the anchorage and loading station with the prospect of soon being put in a state for public worship. At the Lower Falls a place of worship had been erected previous to my arrival in the Province by the joint exertions of Presbyterians and Calvinist Baptists, to both of which denominations it is opened accordingly. I have frequently preached in it and am still in the habit of doing so as often as I can as the parish contains a considerable proportion of substantial Presbyterians strongly attached to our Church and thirsting anxiously for the preached word in the way which is associated with their earliest and most cherished recollections.

"In this and adjacent parishes, the Baptists with Presbyterian aid, have been able for some time past to support a preacher of the former persuasion who occupies the building above-mentioned every second Sabbath and the Presbyterians (who, at a very conservative estimate, number 280) from a feeling of delicacy and fear of collision, have at length determined to erect a church of their own in the village of Lower Falls. (1)

"The Calvinistic Baptists have lately made considerable progress in the parish and several serious Presbyterians, rather than be excluded for an indefinite length of time from Church, have submitted to baptism by immersion, declaring however, that had a Presbyterian Church been organized among them in which they could repair to worship with their families, they would not think of excluding themselves from its pale."

1--The report goes on to tell of a public meeting having been held and of "upwards of 300 pounds" being subscribed for the building of a Church. It expresses too their longing for a missionary, towards the salary of whom the people of St. George's have promised 60 pounds for a part of his services.

(4) St. David's. In this parish, so the report continues,

"there are Methodists, Baptists, many Universalists, very few Episcopalians, some Presbyterians and many who call themselves nothing. In its lower sections, however, Presbyterians are rather numerous and some of that persuasion intimated to me last fall the intended erection of a place of worship among them, which, they seemed to think, could be accomplished with little difficulty. They were making anxious inquiry about a missionary and promised to contribute cheerfully, when he arrived, to his support.

"(5) St. Patrick's Parish adjoins St. Andrew's on the East and its first settlers were soldiers from some Highland regiments disbanded after the Revolutionary War. Baptist preachers of various shades of opinion have of late years been occasionally among the people; but the original settlers, being Scottish Highlanders and their followers chiefly Irish Presbyterians, I think that, were a suitable minister of our Church among them, he would succeed in yet securing their adherence and (with some extrinsic aid at first) his own support."(1)

(6) St. James's Parish, the only inland parish in the county, was ministered to, a portion of it, as has been seen, by Rev. Peter MacIntyre. His report, first of the parish and then of his own congregation, is as follows;

"The whole population is nine hundred and twenty-seven. Of these six hundred and fifteen are professed Presbyterians, three Universalists, sixteen Roman Catholics, thirty-four Methodists, thirty-seven Baptists and the rest Episcopalians. In the summer time I had three Sabbath schools in operation, attended by one hundred and twenty-six scholars; since the cold weather came on the attendance has considerably diminished, but the schools are still in operation and will be throughout the winter. When the Lord's Supper was dispensed on the 31st of August the communicants were sixty-two. On the 9th of November the same ordinance was dispensed in the Baillie settlement (in St. James's) to fourteen communicants, making seventy-six in all."

(7) Pennfield, so called on account of a few of its

1--Of a neighbouring district in this parish, Mr. MacLean makes the following report which is of interest:

"I have reason to believe that not less than four-fifths of the families located near there are Presbyterians. Some years since an effort was made by an influential family in the parish to plant in it an Episcopalian ministry, but even though the precaution had been taken of selecting and actually introducing to the people, a clergyman of that persuasion who understood Gaelic and although he would have been salaried by the Society in England for the Propagation of the Gospel, yet the attempt failed and has not since been renewed."

families belonging to the Society of Friends, was just east of the Parish of St. George's. The report of Mr. MacLean regarding this parish reads as follows:

"Two small places of worship, Episcopalian and Baptist have lately been erected in this parish but no minister of any denomination has yet been settled in it. The inhabitants of that section of it which is nearest St. George's have signified their willingness to contribute towards the erection of the Scottish Churches already mentioned; thus indicating clearly their predilection. I have before me a list (admittedly incomplete) of Presbyterian families in that part of Pennfield adjacent to St. George's and near the coast amounting to about one hundred individuals."

(8) West Isles. Such was the name given to a parish consisting of about three hundred isles, some of them little more than a rock, only two of them, Deer and Indian Island being of any size. On the latter, Mr. MacLean writes, "there is a schoolhouse in which I have preached and where a schoolmaster has been generally supported."

(9) Campobello, an island eight miles in length, itself constituted a parish. Of this and the other islands Mr. MacLean writes:

"On none of these islands have the people hitherto enjoyed the privilege of regular gospel ordinances. They have been occasionally visited by itinerant preachers from the neighbouring republic. I have frequently preached in Campobello, and sometimes on Indian Island, to attentive audiences, and I have therefore done something towards furnishing these interesting islands with the scriptures and religious tracts. All this however is but a drop in the bucket in comparison with their spiritual destitution, which indeed has been so great and so protracted as to have superinduced, I fear in too many families, insensibility to its existence, and consequent indifference to those inestimable privileges of which they are deprived."

(10) Grand Manan. Of this island parish Mr. MacLean writes,

"An Episcopalian mission has been for about two years on this island, receiving, as I have been informed, but partial support among the people, of whom Scotch and Irish Presbyterians form no inconsiderable proportion. The rest are for the most part of English and American extraction. Were an active minister

of our Church to cast in his lot amongst the islands I have been attempting to sketch (a man of robust frame, energetic mind and missionary spirit, prepared to suffer hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ, and animated by love for souls and compassion for the state of so many hundreds of families thus cut off, as it were, from the world, and perishing for lack of knowledge) he would soon, I think, obtain not only adequate support but such a hold upon the affection and gratitude of these insulated people as would surely go far towards repaying a devoted pastor for any sacrifice he might be supposed to make. The extent of territory would not be greater than some of the parishes in the north of Scotland, and there would be a population of 2,563 souls. The channels between these islands are, in general, narrow, and free from dangers, and can be crossed, in ordinary circumstances, both summer and winter."(1)

Turning our attention now to the district of Miramichi, we come to the report of Rev. Mr. Souter of Newcastle, in whose report there is contained also, as will be seen, the reports of the congregations of Rev. Mr. Archibald and Rev. Mr. Fraser. Following is Mr. Souter's report:

"The county of Northumberland is divided into nine parishes extending along the Bay and branches of the Miramichi, and contains about 4,000 who professedly belong to the Church of Scotland. Of these the parishes of Newcastle and Chatham alone have hitherto enjoyed the stated ordinances of the Gospel. The parishes of Alnwick and Glenelg will, for the future, have the ministerial labours of the Rev. Mr. Fraser divided between them. The Rev. Mr. Souter, of Newcastle, estimates his congregation at from seven to eight hundred of all ages, one hundred and forty-seven communicants, two Sabbath schools, six teachers, and one hundred and ten scholars. His ministry is attended by a considerable number from the upper part of the parish of Chatham, and the lower portion of the parishes of Northesk and Nelson.

"The Rev. Mr. Archibald's congregation of all ages amounts

1--Mr. MacLean in this report makes reference too to a subject always apparently very near his heart, namely, the establishing of Sabbath schools in different parts of the county, in the communities between St. Andrew's and St. Stephen's, in Lower Falls and Upper Falls, St. George's Parish, in St. Patrick's and in Pleasant Ridge, a community about thirty-five miles north of St. Andrew's and with about a dozen families.

to from six to seven hundred. His district includes the greater part of the parish of
 Rev. Robert Archibald, Chatham, the lower district of
 Newcastle and part of Glenelg.
 Chatham He has not had an opportunity of
 dispensing the Sacrament since his
 arrival. He reports one Sabbath school attended by upwards
 of forty scholars.

"Mr. Fraser will have about six hundred, young and old,
 under his ministry. His field is new and extends over a consid-
 erable tract of country, and must be
 Rev. Simon Fraser, attended with several of the privations
 incident to missionary life. At Tabus-
 Alnwick and Glenelg intac, one of his stations, a flourish-
 ing Sabbath school, taught by the
 parochial teacher, has existed for some time.

"In Northesk there is now no regular ministry, and in the
 remaining parishes of Nelson, Blackville, Blissfield, and Lud-
 low, extending upwards of seventy miles along the south-west
 branch of the Miramichi there is not a single Protestant place
 of worship or clergyman of any denomination. These include a
 population of about 3,000, of whom probably one-third are nom-
 inal Presbyterians. A number of pious and well-disposed families
 are to be found within them who are thirsting for Gospel ordin-
 ances. But the principal are so divided in sentiment, or so
 devoid of anything like fixed religious principles, that it will
 be no easy matter to unite them in sufficient numbers to support
 the Gospel. This, with the Divine blessing, is most likely to
 be effected by locating a missionary among them for some time.
 From one of them (Blissfield) we are happy to hear of a request
 lately made by several families to have a catechist appointed
 among them, to visit and pray with the sick and read a sermon
 to them on the Lord's Day. And in compliance with their request, a
 Mr. John H. Sievewright, a graduate of Kings College, Aberdeen,
 who has been their parochial teacher for nearly two years, has
 been recommended, and consented to officiate as their catechist.
 He is a young man of respectable talents and exemplary deport-
 ment, who has made himself very useful by conducting a Sabbath
 school in the district. His labours, we trust, may be blessed
 for their edification, until they can obtain a settled pastor.
 For his encouragement and comfortable support I would recommend
 the Colonial Society to make him some yearly allowance."

We come now to the report of Rev. James Steven of the
 Restigouche. It reads as follows:

"The settlements on the River Restigouche and my care
 extend from some distance below Dalhousie at the mouth, to the
 Apsilquatch, a branch of it, that is to say, forty miles more
 or less, comprehending a scattered population of Protestants,

exceeding a thousand souls, rapidly increasing by emigration and the natural causes. Many, indeed most of them, are of the Church of Scotland, and attend worship as regularly as the yet imperfect state of communication in the country, for want of roads and bridges, permits. My attendance at Dalhousie, a distance of sixteen miles from Campbellton (where I now reside),

every third Sunday affords the inhabitants between and in the immediate neighbourhood of these two places, the means of attending worship almost every other Sunday, at either one or the other church; and to facilitate such as may not have it in their power to attend there, I frequently, at convenient seasons, notify public worship on week-days, at the intermediate places, so as not to interfere with the indispensable occupations of the inhabitants.

"The population on this river principally depend on the lumber trade, agriculture being in its infancy among them. The future growth and prosperity of this part of British North America, susceptible of vast development, and affording room for an indefinite emigration from home, will essentially depend, however, upon the continuance of the protection afforded the timber trade. If withdrawn by the British Legislature, the consequences to this part in particular will be serious in the extreme, and the settlers contemplate such an event with dismay.

"Here I may observe that the northern bank of the Restigouche belongs to Lower Canada, and, as a dependency upon that Province, is not strictly within my charge, it being limited to New Brunswick; yet as many of the inhabitants are of our Church, and attend worship at Dalhousie and Campbellton, being without a minister of their own, I have considered them as part of my flock, and accordingly extend my visits in that direction also. The only place of worship on the whole river, besides our own, is a Roman Catholic chapel, in an Indian village on that side nearly opposite to this place (Campbellton) consisting of one hundred families, more or less native Americans, Indians of the Micmack tribe, at which service is occasionally performed by a Canadian priest residing in Bay Chaleur, from time to time visiting the village, and whither, when he is there, the Irish and other Roman Catholics on this river resort to worship. I am informed that the priest, for these occasional visits to the Indian village, receives from the Government sixty pounds per annum.

"The new church erected here is now finished, and was incorporated in June last, according to the Provincial Act. The new church in Dalhousie is in progress. I have had a wish to induce the inhabitants between this place and the upper settlements, forming a distance of upwards of twenty miles, to agree upon the site of a new church at which I would periodically attend. But as yet they have not the means, being in the state in which most new settlers may be supposed, rather in scanty circumstances, providing the necessary subsistence for their

families with difficulty. The time however is not far distant when they will be able to make an erection for the purpose of public worship; but until they are over the first difficulties incidental to settlement in a new country, I do not think it advisable to press the subject upon their attention, contenting myself with occasional visits, and performing worship at such private houses in the settlements as it may be convenient to the inhabitants to meet at for this purpose. The Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was dispensed in St. Andrew's Church here on the second Sabbath of July last, for the third time to a Presbyterian congregation; one hundred and twenty-five communicants partook of the Sacrament. There are at present three parish schools established in these settlements, one here, one at Dalhousie, and the third equally distant from both; which are as well attended as can be expected considering the state of the roads and the population being so widely scattered. There are also two Sabbath schools carried on. One is newly commenced, and the other has been established upwards of two years, which hitherto I have superintended. And it is highly gratifying to observe the progress that the children are making, and the interest which they seem to feel in reading and committing to memory portions of the Word of God and the catechism of our Church. Their attendance upon worship and their manner of keeping the Sabbath are pleasing foretastes of a rich harvest of virtue and piety.

"In closing my present brief report, I cannot, in justice to myself and especially the elders of the Church, avoid noticing their continued kindness, and great attention to my own personal convenience and to that of my family. Besides the expenses incurred in furnishing the exterior and interior of the church, now completed, a commodious manse has been built, in which I have resided since the fall of 1833, now upwards of a year. On the whole, things have hitherto prospered, and promise well. My feeble but zealous efforts to do good in the sphere of arduous labour which Providence has been pleased to allot me, have been crowned with flattering success. Divine Providence has in this part manifestly aided the efforts of the society, the beneficial effects of its operations being already very perceptible; and that they will continue more and more to thrive by the blessing of Almighty God is the earnest prayer of my heart."

The last report is that of Rev. James Hannay, of Richibucto, in the County of Kent. It reads as follows:

"Of Presbyterians more immediately in connection with our Church the number is seven hundred and fifty. About three hundred and fifty of those are on the River
 Rev. James Hannay, Richibucto, and within four miles of the church; one hundred and nine are beyond that distance and resident on tributaries to the Richibucto, viz., on Bass River, fifty-seven; on Moonies River, forty-two, and on Mill Branch, ten. All the last mentioned are from twelve to sixteen miles from the church. I preach, however, among them four Sabbaths

yearly, in a school-room, in a central situation. I have been twice in that district and visited all the families. The attendance at the place of meeting on both occasions was numerous. Not less than one hundred and fifty were present, a number of whom may be reckoned as belonging to the Church of England, and not a few in connection with no Church whatever. In the above I have not included the settlers on the St. Nicholas River, the largest tributary to the Richibucto, and falling into it four miles above the church. Their number is one hundred and fifty-four, and their average distance from the church will be two and a half miles. With the exception of the settlers on Bass and Moonies River, etc, the attendance at the church is good, excepting when the weather is very bad. All the settlements on the Richibucto and its tributaries are of recent date, and considering that and other circumstances, sufficiently prosperous. The inhabitants are principally natives of Dumfries-shire and Galloway; with a small proportion from Prince Edward's Island and from the North of Ireland. The number of communicants is one hundred and four at least. The Sacrament was dispensed on the 19th October, but owing to the lateness of the season, a number of old people and others were prevented from attending. I cannot speak with anything like certainty respecting the remaining Presbyterians in this county. In the settlement of Kouchibouguac, on the road to Miramichi, and fourteen miles from here, there are about one hundred souls. These paid one-seventh of the stipend during Mr. MacLean's incumbency and received one-seventh of his Sabbath service. They are at present supplied from the Pictou connection by a brother of Mr. MacCurdy, of Chatham, Miramichi, who teaches a school in the settlement of Nappan, not far from Chatham. There is also a settlement of Scotch Highlanders, called Glenelg, about ten miles from here and on the road to Halifax, where the Gaelic alone is spoken, which may number about fifty souls. There are a few additional on the same road, towards Shediac, but their number is very inconsiderable. The sum-total of Presbyterians in the county, according to the above calculations, will be nine hundred."

CHAPTER VII.

Later Contribution of the Church of Scotland to

New Brunswick Presbyterianism. 1835-1844.

I.

Presbytery of St. John

Following Mr. Hannay's acceptance of the charge of Richibucto, the Presbytery of New Brunswick renewed its request to the Glasgow Colonial Society for another missionary to itinerate within the Province. However over a year went by before their request was complied with and it was not until October of the year 1835 that David Syme arrived to take up his work in that capacity. And, under date of Nov. 10th, Rev. A. MacLean writes to tell how pleased they are with the coming of Mr. Syme.

"I have now the grateful satisfaction," so Mr. MacLean's letter reads, "of intimating to you the safe arrival of Mr. Syme who appears imbued with a missionary spirit. He was ordained⁽⁴⁾ in St. John and is now fairly engaged in the broad arena of his interesting labours. He travels for three months under Mr. Wilson's

1--See page 86.

2--MacLean's letter # 19, G.C.S. Corr. Bk. 7, (dated Mar. 16, 1836) states that Mr. Syme was welcomed in October last.

3--Letter # 193, Bk. 6, G. C. S. Corr. In this same letter Mr. MacLean states that at Mr. Syme's ordination the central committee for managing the infant missionary fund (composed of the most respectable individuals in St. John) asked the Presbytery to keep Mr. Syme and that they would pay the difference so that he would not have to go to the Miramichi.

4--Mr. Syme was examined on the 12th of Oct. and ordained on the 14th, in St. Andrew's Church, St. John, and was appointed to Sussex and to Kings Co. generally for work. See Willet's manuscript scrap-book of New Brunswick Presbyterianism, p. 297. In this book there are listed the duties of the Province missionary at this time, which are as follows; that they should preach every Sabbath and if possible on week days, that they should baptize and after the first visit administer the sacrament, that they should obtain statistics relative to the strength of the cause, form a committee of three strong individuals to collect for the missionary fund and that they should keep a journal.

direction, after which he will come to itinerate for an equal period in this (Charlotte) County.

After but a few months in the Province Mr. Syme received a call to the congregation of Norton, Springfield and Sussexvale, a congregation that had long been seeking a minister for themselves. This call came before the meeting of the St. John Presbytery in February of 1836 and was accepted and "Mr. Wilson was appointed to induct him in August," and the clerk of the Presbytery was "instructed to draw out and transmit to the Colonial Society a bond for his successor."¹

But hardly had the call to Mr. Syme been accepted when it became known that he was a party to a most unfortunate scandal, it having been discovered that he and a young lady of 18 had come out together on the 'Lady Campbell' and that since their arrival their actions had been such that the matter could not lightly be passed over. Accordingly a pro re nata meeting of the Presbytery was called early in March of that year and that Presbytery (consisting of four clergymen and three laymen) "felt themselves compelled to come to the following decision, which they did unanimously:"²

'That whereas it has been proved that a young woman came out to this country on the same ship with Rev. David Syme and under his charge, dressed in male attire and by the name of Mr. Miller, That Mr. Syme passed her off afterwards as Mary Bruce and subsequently confessed her name not to be Mary Bruce but Mary Allan, That repeated long and mysterious interviews have taken place between them alone in a private room,

1--MacLean's letter # 19, G.C.S. Corr. Bk. 7, dated Mar. 16, 1836.

2--Same letter as above. Hannay's account of this unfortunate incident states that the girl in the case, to whom Mr. Syme had been paying attention in Glasgow, when she heard of his leaving Scotland, dressed herself in boy's clothes and took passage in the same vessel. From this it would appear that Mr. Syme was hardly as directly to blame for her coming out as would at first seem.

Hannay's History of New Brunswick, pages 409, 410, vol. ii.

That frequent communications by letter have passed between them at and since her removal by Mr. Syme into the country where she still lives under his protection, and

That throughout the whole affair from his arrival in the Province to the present time he has practised regarding it gross falsehood and deception, and

Whereas both he and she now refuse to give any explanation on the subject, confessing at the same time that they have disclosures to make:

Therefore the said Mr. Syme should be suspended, and the Presbytery do hereby suspend him accordingly from the functions and emoluments of the pastoral office, sine die .'"

Mr. Syme forthwith protested the action of the Presbytery¹² (and in his protest he was not without staunch supporters, one of whom especially was later to make it so hard for Rev. Mr. Wilson of St. John who had taken a leading part in the whole unfortunate affair). However nothing came of the protest, Mr. Syme shortly after his suspension married the girl,³ and his name is heard no more in New Brunswick Presbyterianism.

The people of the expectant charge were naturally very disappointed in the turn events had taken as they had had such hopes of Mr. Syme and had planned to have finished shortly a church in each of the three stations.⁴ However they kept bravely on and the tenth annual report of the Glasgow Colonial Society (1837) states that a minister is desired at Sussexvale, and

1--Rev. Mr. MacIntyre (Letter #28, G.C.S. Corr. Bk. 7, dated Apr. 21st, 1836) refers to Mr. Syme pleading for a removal of the suspension.

2--The whole matter came up before the Synod meeting in Chatham on the 16th of August, 1837, and Mr. Syme's protest and their answer were sent on to the G. C. S. (Letter of Rev. A. MacLean, No. 281, G.C. S. Corr. Bk. 7, dated Sept. 25th, 1837.) About this time, as has been seen, the G. C. S. and the Assembly's Colonial Committee were working in close co-operation and the former's reports of these years are included in the reports of the Colonial Committee. From the report of the latter (1838) we learn that the Committee had before it a reference from a Colonial Synod "respecting the suspension of a missionary," and that "that committee have agreed to express an opinion approving of the zeal for the purity of the clerical character evinced by the Presbytery of New Brunswick, and of the steps which they have taken to promote this most important object."

3--MacIntyre's letter as above, # 28, Bk. 7, G.C.S. Corr.

4--MacLean's letter # 19, Bk. 7, G.C.S. Corr. dated Mar. 16, 1836.

that that field requests "50 pounds sterling per annum for three years, the people guaranteeing 100 pounds currency (per annum) in addition."¹ No minister however was forthcoming to them for a

considerable time and in the September issue of the Missionary Record for 1840, Rev. Robert Wilson Norton, Sussexvale and Springfield

describes conditions in that field as follows:

"Springfield----40 miles from St. John. It is a district with a church which has been incompleted but now is completed. They long for a minister. Mr. Tennant, an aged and infirm catechist, visits and preaches here and elsewhere in summer most acceptably.

"Norton----27 miles from St. John. It has long presented on the public road another unfinished structure only roughly boarded. In Sussexvale no Presbyterian Church has as yet been erected. People there long for ministrations."

In the meantime, in that same year (1840), the request of the Presbytery of St. John made in 1836 for a missionary to succeed Mr. Syme was at last acceded to, and the Colonial Committee report of that year contains the following in regard to the appointment of the Rev. Andrew Stevens to that position:

"A bond for 100 pounds was transmitted several years ago signed by many respectable Presbyterians in New Brunswick to the Glasgow Colonial Society for a missionary to itinerate within the bounds of the Presbytery of St. John. This bond was recently transmitted to the committee and they consider themselves fortunate in having obtained the consent of the Rev. Andrew Stevens to accept the situation. Mr. Stevens has recently been ordained by the Presbytery of Edinburgh and it is hoped will proceed in the course of the next month to St. John where he will find a field of extensive usefulness with every prospect of preparing the people of the various districts periodically visited by him to feel the want of a fixed pastor and of receiving from among them a call to a settled charge. In addition to the sum secured by his bond, the committee have voted to him 50 pounds sterling for three years."

1--Later, according to a letter of Mr. Wm. Livingstone (a staunch defender of Mr. Syme whose attack made it so hard for Mr. Wilson) Letter # 199, Bk. 7, G.C.S. Corr. dated Sept. 6, 1837, "several gentlemen in Norton, Springfield and Sussex" requested that their bond for a minister in Mr. Syme's place be either returned or destroyed.

Mr. Stevens¹ sailed for New Brunswick later in that year and took up his work in Kings Co. in the Presbytery of St. John,² in which field the Colonial Committee report for 1841 states that "he has been labouring with diligence and acceptance." On the 26th of August of that year he brought to the Presbytery two bonds of 50 pounds each from Sussexvale and Springfield, and these places having tendered him a call, he accepted it and on the 12th of October³ was inducted by the Rev. Mr. Wilson of St. John. For three years he laboured in this charge and shortly after his removal to the field of St. James and St. Stephen in Charlotte Co. he writes of the congregation of Springfield and Sussexvale⁴ as follows:

In these places churches have been erected and by uniting the English settlement which lies convenient to both I have no doubt that a minister could be supported without soliciting aid from the Church at home. In the latter place the people are willing to commence a church as soon as they have any prospect of a minister being located among them."

With the removal of Rev. Andrew Stevens from this field it remained destitute of regular ministrations for years. As will be seen later (page 175) Rev. Andrew Donald gave supply to Springfield and the Free Church ministers in St. John to Sussexvale and neighbouring stations.

1--Mr. Stevens was of Bonhill in Dumbarton. Free Church Record, Dec. 1848. At the time of his appointment he was assistant in North Leith.

2--Mr. Wilson, writing May 29th, 1841, (G. C. S. Corr. Bk. 8, no number to letter) refers to the acceptable labours of Mr. Stevens and adds that he is "stimulating and refreshing," and that he will likely settle soon.

3--Willet's manuscript scrap book, page 297 ff.

4--Mr. Stevens wrote this description to Rev. J. C. MacGregor of St. John, who, in turn, under date of Nov. 29th, 1844, sent it to the Free Church of Scotland. See Free Church Record, Jan. 1845

In the meantime the Norton section of the field, which had not joined in the call to Mr. Stevens, linked up with the stations of Hammond River and Saltsprings and in the year 1843¹ they obtained as their minister Rev. Andrew Donald of the congregation of Shelburne, Clyde River and Barrington in Nova Scotia, who had come out from Scotland in 1841. Shortly after his arrival in New Brunswick however he decided to throw in his lot with the 'Free Church' so that a further study of his ministry will be taken up on pages 166 and 167 of chapter 9.

In the latter part of 1835² and the beginning of 1836 an agitation was begun in the city of St. John for a second church in connection with the Church of Scotland. St. Stephen's Church, St. John. By the time of the meeting of the Presbytery early in February of that year (1836) such progress had been made that Rev. Robert Wilson was able to announce that³ "certain benevolent Presbyterians in St. John had purchased a place of worship in a very eligible situation

1--From Memorial Tablet, Southfield Church, N.B. (See also Record of Sep. 1844.) Mr. Donald was born in Lanarkshire, Dec. 22, 1806, and was educated at the Universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh.

2--Rev. A. MacLean, writing under date of Nov. 10th, 1835, (Letter # 193, Bk. 6, G. C. S. Corr.) states that when he was in St. John at the last Presbytery meeting that "a number of the most influential people in Mr. Wilson's congregation were contemplating a bargain for a large brick building (price 1100 pounds). The profession was that the scheme did not originate in dissatisfaction."

3--Willet, in his manuscript scrap book, from which this quotation is taken, states that Messrs John Wishart, John Walker, Hugh Irving and John Robertson had bought the Wesleyan Methodist Asylum "with a view to obtaining more accommodation for the congregation of St. Andrew's Church." (Page 23 ff.)

in that city to be called St. Stephen's Church and that they were about to send to Scotland for a minister." In due time their request went forward and Rev. William Andrew of Edin-

burgh was chosen to be the first minister of
 Rev. William ¹
 Andrew that new charge. His acceptance of the
 appointment is contained in the following letter
 which is to be found in the correspondence of the Glasgow Colonial
 Society:²

"I duly received your communication dated 30th June (1836) enclosing a letter signed by yourself and the other commissioners for appointing a minister to the Church of St. Stephen, City of St. John, New Brunswick, unanimously conferring upon me the appointment to that charge. Of this appointment I beg now through you to signify to the commissioners my ready and hearty acceptance. I am gratified by the handsome manner in which the commissioners have conferred this appointment upon me, and not less pleased with the spirit in which the application for the gentlemen interested in the Church of St. Stephen is made."

Mr. Andrew arrived in St. John in the early autumn of that year (1836) and on the 16th of October he presided at the opening of St. Stephen's Church.³ The Rev. A. MacLean was appointed by the Presbytery to induct him into his new charge, which service of induction was held on the 17th of May of the year following. His ministry in that congregation began with promise, but unfortunately within a year of his induction he was in grave difficulties. In the first place in a pamphlet written in January of 1838

1--The tenth annual report of the Glasgow Colonial Society (1837) contains the following: "Although not coming within the range of the Society's immediate operations, it may be proper to state that six gentlemen connected with the Society having been chosen as commissioners to select a minister for the second Presbyterian Church at St. John, the Rev. William Andrew was nominated to that charge and after ordination by the Presbytery of Edinburgh he sailed for that place in autumn last and has entered upon his important labours with the good-will of all concerned and with every prospect of extended usefulness."

2--No number to this letter. It is in Book 7 and is dated, Edinburgh, 4th July, 1836.

3--The greater part of this story of St. Stephen's Church and of its later misfortunes is taken from Willet's manuscript scrap-book (pages 23 ff.) in the St. John Public Library.

he had brought "injurious and unchristian" charges against Rev. Mr. Wilson¹ (which charges as has been seen the Session of St. Andrew's Church was quick to deny) and shortly following that, his own Church having been locked against him, on the 11th of April a libel charging falsehood, tippling and other charges was served on him. Later the Presbytery of St. John and the Synod of New Brunswick, meeting in the city in the latter part of June of that year, took the matter up, demanded the keys of the Church from the Trustees and dissolved the pastoral tie between Mr. Andrew and his people.

By the next month however the attitude of the office-bearers of St. Stephen's Church towards Mr. Andrew appears to have radically changed for the Courier of July 21st carries the following announcement:

"At a meeting of the Trustees and Elders of St. Stephen's Church held on Thursday evening last the Rev. William Andrew was nominated as a candidate to fill the vacancy of said Church, the election to take place on Tuesday first, the 24th, at St. Stephen's Church at 12 o'clock noon."

Such a course of action in the nature of the case meant

1--Little wonder that the Colonial Society's report for 1838 in regard to St. John is quite discouraging. It reads as follows:

"The directors are grieved to say that the religious aspect of things at St. John, N. B. is not so encouraging as it has been at other times. The causes of this are to be traced partly to some painful circumstances in the conduct of the province missionary which led to his suspension and departure from the Colony, and partly from an unfortunate misunderstanding between the ministers of the two congregations. Into the particulars of these cases the directors deem it unnecessary to enter farther than to express the hope that the causes of discord may yet be removed and that the harmony which is so essential to the prosperity of an infant church may be speedily restored. With the exception of the city of St. John the state of things in all other parts of New Brunswick, at Fredericton, Miramichi and its contiguous localities is favorable. The labours of our respected brethren there are great and successful. The field occupied by each is overwhelmingly important and additional labourers are from year to year imperiously needed." (Eleventh annual report of G. C. S.)

that the Presbytery must again meet and this time take drastic action in regard to the matter. Accordingly a meeting was held on the 2nd of October of that year at which meeting Mr. Andrew was deposed from the Christian ministry for his defying of the findings of the Courts of the Church. At this meeting too the keys (which had not yet been handed over) were again demanded, which, after some delay were finally given over in November of that year. The case was carried to the Mother Church in Scotland, but, as in the case of Mr. Syme, nothing more came of it as that body upheld the stand of the Church Courts of New Brunswick.¹

1--On pages 36 and 37 of "Acts of General Assembly of the Church of Scotland convened at Edinburgh May 20th, 1841, with the Abridgements of the Proceedings of that Assembly," there is to be found the following:

"The General Assembly had transmitted to them by their Committee of Bills, a reference from the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale in the case of the Rev. William Andrew of St. Stephen's Church, St. John, in the Synod of New Brunswick.

"The following resolution was agreed to as showing the relation between Colonies and the Church of Scotland in Scotland:

"The General Assembly find that while they do not review the sentences of Colonial Church Courts recognized by this Church with reference to ministers who have been ordained or licensed by this Church while they hold charges in the branches of this Church in the colonies and are consequently subject to the jurisdiction of these courts; yet, when the connection of such ministers with such colonial churches has been regularly brought to an end, they revert under the cognizance and the jurisdiction of the courts of this Church :Find that no congregation in the colonies can be in connection with this Church unless in the communion of its local branch: Find therefore that if the conduct of Mr. Andrew should be persevered in, acting in contravention of the sentence of the Synod of New Brunswick whereby he was declared incapable of holding a charge within their bounds, it will be the duty of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, by which he was ordained, to proceed against him according to the laws of the Church.

Following the removal of Rev. Mr. Andrew from the charge of St. Stephen's Church, Rev. J. Gibson MacGregor supplied their pulpit for eight months but the stipend was irregular and poor and he was compelled to request the Presbytery to help him collect it, which they did in the latter part of August, 1841.

By the next spring however the Rev. W. T. Wishart
Rev. W. T.

had been called and he was admitted here on the
Wishart

16th of June, 1842. From the first he threw himself whole-heartedly into the cause of the Established Church, not only in the city of St. John but in the whole province, and in a letter from his hand written late in 1842 he makes a most urgent appeal of the Home Church for a missionary to itinerate in the district about St. John. A l s o he requests a "city missionary" for St. John itself, adding that his own home could¹ "be the missionary's home while in St. John."

After a ministry of about two years in St. Stephen's Church, Mr. Wishart felt compelled to make a statement to the effect that he had changed his views in regard to the ordinance of baptism, even advocating that it were better that such an ordinance should be done away with. The matter came before the Synod which met in Chatham early in September of 1844, and by them was referred back to the Presbytery of St. John which met on the 24th of that month. However it was not until August of 1845 that the matter was really taken up by the Presbytery, which in turn referred it back to the Synod. Finally, in the next year Mr. Wishart was deposed, but even though deposed there were many who remained loyal to him until his death a few years later.

1--Letter dated Nov. 20th, 1842 and contained in the Missionary Record of the Church of Scotland for March, 1843.

With the deposition of Rev. W. T. Wishart there closes the early history of St. Stephen's Church in St. John, and that Church, being heavily in debt, the building was sold and the proceeds of the sale over and above the debt were put into investments; and not until over twenty years had passed was there built, under the ministry of Rev. George Caie, a new and more beautiful St. Stephen's.¹

In October of the year 1836 (the year following the formation of the Synod of New Brunswick) Rev. A. MacLean reported to the Presbytery of St. John that a Scotch Church St. Patrick's² had been built at St. Patrick's. And in a letter of his written a few months later and St. George's, Charlotte County in January of 1837 he makes the following reference to the cause in that parish and in the adjoining Parish of St. George's:³

"I have been busy for some time past endeavouring to unite the Presbyterians of the contiguous Parishes of St. Patrick's and St. George's in organizing themselves so far as to make provision for the administration among them of Gospel ordinances."

"I have little doubt," so his report continued in the tenth annual report of the Glasgow Colonial Society (1837), reads, "that I shall soon obtain enough encouragement to authorize me to petition your excellent Society for a clergyman for these united districts."

However over two years went by before a regular minister was obtained for this charge, and, even then, for the first part of his

1--For later history of St. Stephen's Church, see Croil, Dec. issue of 'Presbyterian,' 1875, pages 287 and 288; also Willet's manuscript scrap book as mentioned above, and the Missionary Record of the Church of Scotland, Issues of May and Sept. 1867, also later issues.

2--Willet's manuscript scrap book, p. 191 ff.

3--Letter # 124, Bk. 7, G.C.S. Corr. dated Jan. 18th, 1837.

ministry, his labours were confined to the St. Patrick's section of the field.¹ The name of the minister was Rev. John Cassilis

(of whom we have already heard in connection with Rev. John Cassilis the Secession Church) and the matter of his call and of his entrance into the ministry of the

Established Church came before a meeting of the Presbytery of St. John in Fredericton on the 13th of August, 1839, and by them was referred to the Synod of New Brunswick which met in St. John just two days later.² A complete account of the relative part of the findings of Synod in regard to Mr. Cassilis and his call appeared in the St. Andrew's Standard of August 24th and reads as follows:³

1--As to the other section of this field (St. George's) there is in existence a booklet by Rev. C. Atkinson, "Emigrant's Guide to New Brunswick," in which the author states that he unexpectedly visited these people in June of 1839 and that as they had only had about six sermons in the previous year, they sought his services as their minister, promising him 100 pounds per annum. The engagement with Mr. Atkinson (which the booklet states appeared in the St. John Courier and Christian Reporter in June, 1840) reads as follows: 'We the undersigned General Committee of the Presbyterian Church in this place, being destitute of a regular minister, have, in consideration of the Rev. Christopher Atkinson giving (during the three years he has been in the Province, and more particularly the last year in which he has officiated as our minister) the undeniable proofs of his sincerity, zeal and ability in the work of the ministry, chosen and appointed the said Mr. Atkinson to be the pastor of the above Church with the entire approbation of the congregation. And we trust Mr. Atkinson will continue to have the respect and love of his people which he has already obtained and that his valuable labours may more than ever be appreciated by those who may henceforth have the pleasure of sitting under his ministry. Signed, June 1840, George M'Kenzie, Esq.; Peter M'Diarmid, Esq.; Hugh M'Leod, Sen.; Donald M'Kenzie; Archibald M'Vicars; George M'Vicars; Thomas Lailand, Mascree, St. George's, N. B.' Mr. Atkinson, before coming to this field, laboured for over a year in Kings. Co., in South Stream, Salt-springs and Londonderry and a copy of his engagement with them appears in the "Courier" of June 16th, 1838. Upon his arrival in St. George's he found that the Church was only roughly boarded in, but by collecting money from various places even as far away as Halifax he was able, if not to finish it, at least to put a fair amount of work on it. Every other Sunday he preached at Pennfield. He did not remain in St. George's for very long and there is hardly a reference to his work in any other source save in his own booklet, pages 39 following.

2--Willet, p. 191 ff.

3--This account is contained in the Edinburgh Christian Instructor, Dec. issue, 1839, p. 479.

"The Synod of the Presbyterian Church in this province in connection with the Church of Scotland met at St. John on Thursday, last week. Among other things a reference from the Presbytery of St. John came before the Synod setting forth that a call and bonds had been laid on their table from the Presbyterians of St. Patrick's in the County of Charlotte inviting the Rev. John Cassilis to be their minister. The Synod were gratified to learn that a very commodious church has been built on Whittier's Ridge and that another is in process of erection at Boc-a-bec. Mr. Cassilis(1) petitioned the Presbytery representing that he had studied in the Scottish University of St. Andrew's with a view of becoming a minister of the Church of Scotland, that he went through the regular course of philosophical and theological education prescribed by the said Church, but, having proceeded to Nova Scotia before he was licensed to preach he obtained license and ordination to a charge in that province and that he had been regularly loosed from that charge before coming to New Brunswick. He now therefore if found qualified petitioned to have his name added to the roll of the Presbytery and Synod. The reference was sustained and Mr. Cassilis was accordingly examined in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Philosophy, Church History and Theology in which he gave satisfaction. It was then moved, seconded and unanimously resolved that Mr. Cassilis be received as a member of the Presbytery of St. John, Synod of New Brunswick. He therefore received the right hand of fellowship from all present and is now consequently capable of discharging all the functions of a minister of the Church of Scotland in this Province."

St. Patrick's proved to be a most difficult field but Mr. Cassilis was a faithful minister and with salary supplemented by grants from the Colonial Committee he was reported in the 1841 report of that committee as "labouring successfully" in his New Brunswick charge. By the year 1844, however, his grant apparently having ceased, he was almost completely discouraged and under date of April 24th he wrote the Colonial Committee as follows:

"My services in St. Patrick's as a fixed pastor may be considered as over. Of the salary subscribed in the various districts which I regularly visit I have not during the past year realized 30 pounds currency, and when it is considered out of this pittance I must keep a horse you may judge whether I can any longer remain on the present footing. At present I am the only Presbyterian minister in the County of Charlotte. If an annual

1--In 1818 Mr. Cassilis had come to N. B. and for many years he was Master of the St. Andrew's Grammar School. See Presbyterianism in New Brunswick, by Rev. Frank Baird in The Presbyterian Witness of Dec. 12, 1908, p. 398; also Jack, p. 333.

2--Missionary Record, Issue of August, 1844.

grant of 50 pounds for two or three years could be procured for me it will enable me to continue my labours in this district--- otherwise this will be impossible.

His request for aid was complied with and he received for that same year (1844) a grant of 50 pounds from the Colonial Committee and during the next summer he received from the Glasgow Ladies Colonial Association a grant of 54 pounds¹ and by the help of these grants he was enabled to remain on his large and difficult charge. Indeed from then until his death practically every annual report of the Colonial Committee makes mention of his receiving aid from the Church in Scotland. (And such is just another example of the contribution made by the home Church in Scotland as it stood behind its men as they planted firm and strong the foundations of Presbyterianism in New Brunswick).

But to return to an account of the work of Mr. Cassilis. In the November issue of the Missionary Record of 1844 and the April issue of 1846 there are letters written by him which, better than anything else, give an idea of the state of Presbyterianism, not only in St. Patrick's but also in St. Andrew's and St. George's, which latter place in the last number of years of his ministry was a part of his field. Following are relative parts of the letters:

"St. Andrew's is an important station," so writes Mr. Cassilis under date of August 10th, 1844," and the Elders and Trustees there have unanimously invited me to continue my ministerial services among them as I have been doing. (Mr. MacLean left St. Andrew's in January, 1844.) I dispensed the Lord's Supper at Whittier's Ridge last Sabbath and on Sunday week the Holy Sacrament will be celebrated in St. Andrew's. I consider it my duty, according to existing circumstances, to do all in my power to keep together St. Andrew's congregation. The Presbyterians

¹--Writing Dec. 5, 1845 (Letter in Record of April, 1846) he thanks the Ladies Association for the grant which was 'received August last.'

in the Parish of St. George with, so far as I know only one exception are firmly attached to the Established Church. Those of the Whittier's Ridge district are, so far as I have conversed with them, of the same mind and the thinking part of them wisely conclude that the secession at home cannot extend its practical influence to these colonies. The people of Harvey settlement are desirous of ministerial supply and would be very glad to be in our connection. But it is at present out of my power to give them any supply."

His second letter (of date December 5th, 1845) concerns itself more with his own field of labour and a summary of that letter follows:

My congregation is thinly settled and far scattered and I'm more an itinerant missionary than a fixed pastor. One third of my labours are confined to St. Patrick's Parish among fifty-five families or about 345 souls, one third devoted to St. George's Parish which contains about thirty families, 160 souls, chiefly of Scotch descent, and the remaining third is devoted to various settlements scattered around the district. In the Parish of St. Patrick's the Presbyterians are the largest denomination but unfortunately they are divided into the Established Church Party and the Free.

The distances are great and the roads in places bad. I hold services in the following places; Whittier's Ridge, Pleasant Ridge,¹ Waweig, Didgeguash, Mascreeen, L'Etang and Lower Falls.

Mr. Cassilis continued to labour in this extended field until his death on the 18th of July, 1850,² to which the report of the Colonial Committee in 1851 makes reference as follows:

"During the year the Rev. Mr. Cassilis who had long laboured as a faithful minister died and in application by the Presbytery the committee agreed that the salary due to him at the time of his death with an additional sum making together 50 pounds should be paid to his wife and daughter, to whom they had good reason to know it would prove very serviceable." (3)

Following the death of Mr. Cassilis his work in St. Patrick's was taken over by Rev. John Ross of St. Andrew's, reference to which will later be made. (See pages 124 and 125)

1--In this place, settled chiefly with Scotch, a Sunday School and a 'Social Prayer meeting' with an elder reading a sermon were carried on.

2--Croil, Dec. issue of Presbyterian, 1875, p. 296.

3--In the December issue of the Missionary Record there is recorded the gratitude of the Presbytery for "the great liberality of the General Assembly's Colonial Committee" to various fields, "and especially in their benevolence to Mrs. Cassilis and daughter."

Turning our attention now to the field of St. James, also in the County of Charlotte, we note that following the death of

Rev. Peter MacIntyre early in 1837 that a
St. James congregational meeting was held and that "a
commission was transmitted to the Glasgow Colonial Society to
nominate a successor without delay."¹ But the years went by and no
minister was forthcoming to the waiting people and the Missionary
Record of July 1840 contains the following interesting reference
telling of the inducements to a minister held out by that
vacant charge.² It reads as follows:

"This congregation has provided an excellent farm for their
minister and they have bound themselves for 150 pounds currency
yearly besides the 50 pounds guaranteed by the Society; and yet,
although appeals have been made on their behalf for three years
no Gaelic preacher has been found willing to come out and labour
among them."

Finally in the year 1841, after a vacancy of over four years,

the Rev. John Reid was appointed to this charge.³
Rev. John

Reid He did not remain for very long and there is

but little to record in regard to his work. One
letter there is on record,⁴ however, written by him in July of
the year following his appointment in which he states that he is
doing better than he had expected, that at his communion service
there were 75 communicants present, that the Sunday School is
doing well and that he preaches occasionally in the Church at
St. Stephen. The latter church, he further states, has had nothing

1--Tenth annual report of the G. C. S. (1837)

2--Letter of Rev. J. Souter, Newcastle, dated Apr. 6th, 1840.

3--Report of Colonial Committee, 1841.

4--Letter contained in Missionary Record of Nov. 1842 and dated
July 13th of that year.

done to it since Mr. MacIntyre's death but that now they are starting work on it again.

Early in 1844 Mr. Reid removed from St. James and returned to Scotland¹ and later in that same year Rev. Andrew Stevens of Springfield and Sussexvale took up his work² in this charge. Mr. Stevens divided his labours equally between St. Stephen and St. James. His pastorate here however was only a very brief one and in the next year (1845) he was obliged to return to Scotland "on account of ill-health."³ But he had remained long enough in the Province to take his part in the formation of the Synod of New Brunswick adhering to the Westminster Standards (popularly known as the 'Free Church Synod') formed in St. John in March of 1845. His congregation too elected to throw in its lot with the newly-formed Synod and therefore its further history will be taken up in the 'Free Church Chapter.' (See page 174.)

Mention has already been made of Rev. John Ross of St. Andrew's and although his ministry really comes outside the scope of this chapter, still as in the last number of pages we have been dealing with Charlotte Co., it has been thought best

1--The Halifax Guardian, issue of Mar. 15, 1844, refers to an address having been presented to Mr. Reid from the people of St. James before his return to Scotland.

2--Missionary Record of Sept. 1844.

3--Interim report of the Colonial Committee (Nov. 1845) and contained in the Missionary Record of December, 1845.

to include here a brief account of Mr. Ross's early ministry in this part of New Brunswick. Mr. Ross became¹ Rev. John Ross, the minister of Greenock Church, St. Andrew's in St. Andrew's 1845 after that church had been vacant almost a year and a half following the return of Mr. MacLean to Scotland in January of the previous year. The Halifax Guardian of July 11th, 1845, quoting from a news item of St. Andrew's dated July 2nd, gives the following description of Mr. Ross's first services in his new charge:

"The Rev. John Ross entered upon his pastoral charge of the congregation belonging to the Scottish Church in this town on Sabbath last, preaching two impressive and appropriate sermons to a numerous and highly respectable congregation."

The disruption controversy had made itself very deeply felt in Charlotte Co. and the years that followed were not easy years for Mr. Ross.² But he kept steadily on, and as evidence of his faithful work the first deputation reported to the Church of Scotland at home as follows:³

"It was very satisfactory to learn, as we did on all hands, that the labours of Mr. Ross were pursued with the greatest zeal and diligence and blessed with remarkable success."

With the death in 1850 of Rev. Mr. Cassilis, Mr. Ross took over, as well, the work in the charge of St. Patrick's for which additional work his grant from the Colonial Committee was increased to 75 pounds per annum. The next year he made a full and comprehensive report of his work to the Presbytery meeting in St. John

1--Mr. Ross was born in Cromarty about 1807 and was educated at Marischal College, Aberdeen, 1821--1825. He was ordained in 1831 and was appointed (by the Colonial Committee) to Yarmouth and Shelburne in Nova Scotia, 1836. He was minister of Greenock Church, St. Andrew's, 1845--1867, and died Apr. 9, 1871. Fasti VII, p. 611.

2--Rev. John Irvine, Free Church Missionary, writing under date of Sept. 24th, 1846 (letter appearing in Free Church Record of Dec. 1846) states that there are several who have entirely withdrawn from Greenock Church, and others who, although not at present withdrawing, declare themselves for the Free Church.

3--Report of 1845 deputation is in Sept. Missionary Record, 1846.

on October 2nd, a summary of which is here given:

I have to report that the Trustees and Session of Greenock Church, St. Andrew's, having agreed to the terms proposed to them by the Presbytery in October last, namely that I should give as much time to St. Patrick's as my duties in St. Andrew's would permit: I have preached there one fourth of my time, preaching in the morning at Whittier's Ridge and in the afternoon in a school-house 7 miles distant. Considering distances, the congregations are unusually large. I have dispensed communion on two occasions to about 60 or 70 communicants, and were I able to give them the necessary attention there would be a great many more. I have prevailed upon the people to meet every Sabbath for 'social worship' at which the elders lead the devotions and the schoolmaster reads the scriptures and a sermon from an approved author. There are also two Sabbath Schools in the district, the numbers in each varying according to the state of the roads from 30 to 50. Two months ago I visited Harvey where there is a population of about 400, all Presbyterians. They built a place of worship during the last season which however will take much to fit it for winter use. This field combined with St. Patrick's would make a splendid field for a missionary of our Church.

As to St. Andrew's, there has been no increase in the business or population during the last year but rather the contrary. When I'm away the members of Session and the schoolmaster conduct the service. There is a very general attendance and I hear of no dissatisfaction. The timely and liberal assistance obtained from the Colonial Committee last year was thankfully received and regarded by the people of St. Andrew's and St. Patrick's as a strong proof of the warm interest which the Church of Scotland takes in their welfare.

Mr. Ross continued his "arduous and self-denying labours" in this his field for over twenty years, and following his retirement he died a few years later in April of 1871.

Such is the story of the Church of Scotland in this part of Charlotte Co. until the middle of the nineteenth century.

1--Missionary Record of December, 1851.

2--Missionary Record of February, 1867.

Following the return of Rev. Mr. Birkmyre to Scotland in November, 1841, the Church of St. Paul's in Fredericton was vacant for well over a year and during that time a number of candidates were heard from among whom the Rev. John M. Brooke of New Richmond was chosen as Mr. Birkmyre's successor. Mr. Brooke arrived in Fredericton on the 30th of January, 1843, and twelve days later, on Sunday, the 11th of February, he was inducted into his new charge. At this service Rev. W. T. Wishart of St. Stephen's Church, St. John, presided and Rev. Alexander MacLean, Clerk of the Presbytery, read the different documents relating to Mr. Brooke's translation, and the Synod of New Brunswick meeting in Fredericton at the time, almost all the clergymen in the Province in connection with the Church of Scotland were able to be present at this induction service. And so began the long and useful ministry of Rev. Dr. Brooke in St. Paul's Church, Fredericton.

When almost a year of his ministry had passed (during which time he was presented with a 'rich and elegant pulpit gown'), Mr. Brooke, under date of Dec. 29th, 1843, writes concerning his work as follows:

"I have now been nearly twelve months in Fredericton and nothing has occurred to disturb the peace of the congregation.

1--Further reference to Mr. Brooke will be made in the part of the chapter referring to New Richmond, to which field he was appointed in 1839.

2--From Mr. MacFarlane's '1928 History of St. Paul's.' An account of this induction service is to be found in the Halifax Guardian of Feb. 24th, 1843.

3--From the Miramichi Gleaner of Feb. 28, 1843 we learn that the Synod of N. B. recently decided that, save when necessary, baptism must not be done privately, also that the first Sabbath in March is to be set aside to emphasize the sanctification of the Lord's Day.

4--Halifax Guardian, Oct. 6th, 1843. (Copied from St. John Courier.)

5--Missionary Record of Feb. 1844.

I am assured that the attendance is fully as good as ever it has been. About forty were added to the number of communicants at the last dispensation of the Lord's Supper."

By this time echoes of the Disruption controversy in Scotland had reached the Province and Rev. Mr. Brooke early declared his allegiance to the Establishment and at the meeting of Synod in Chatham in September of 1844 which was to decide the position of the New Brunswick Synod in regard to the disruption he was elected Moderator. His loyalty to the Church of Scotland in those difficult days played a great part in helping that Church to come through as well as it did.

No account however of the early ministry of Mr. Brooke in St. Paul's would be complete without large place being given to his great and helpful interest in the cause of Presbyterianism not only in and about Fredericton but indeed throughout the whole of the Province. On Tuesday, the 3rd of October, 1843, he opened a new Presbyterian Church on the Nashwaak,¹ preaching on that occasion from the text, Psalm 26, 8: Lord, I have loved the habitation of Thy house and the place where Thine honor dwelleth. A little later he had occasion to visit that same community again, and having also about that time visited some of the neighbouring settlements,² he writes as follows:

"I preached again (on the Nashwaak) on the occasion of a funeral. I have also visited Stanley and preached. There are between 20 and 30 Presbyterian families in that settlement who are most anxious to enjoy the services of a minister that might be settled in the Nashwaak. About thirty pounds could be raised in Stanley."

In this same letter, too, Mr. Brooke expresses his 'deep concern' for the people of his former charge, New Richmond, who as yet have sought in vain for another minister.

1--Halifax Guardian, Oct. 20th, 1843, copied from the Fredericton Sentinel of Oct. 7th. Rev. J. Turnbull was also present.
2--Same letter as previously referred to, dated Dec. 29th, 1843, and appearing in Missionary Record of February, 1844.

Following the meeting of the Synod in September, 1844, Mr. Brooke again wrote the Mother Church, this time to see if it would not be possible to obtain two missionaries for the Province, one for the Presbytery of Miramichi, the other for the Presbytery of St. John.¹ Also a few months later, still anxious concerning the destitution of ministers existing throughout the Province, he repeats his request adding that, instead of two, there was "in truth work enough for a dozen."² In the same letter too, after referring to a three days tour among about a dozen neighbouring settlements where lived many Presbyterians destitute of the ordinances, he continues:

"About 60 miles above Fredericton on the River St. John there is the thriving and rapidly increasing town of Woodstock, destined it is thought soon to be a place of great importance. A great many Presbyterians are settled there and in its immediate neighbourhood. The frame of a church has been erected and has stood for several years and had the people the prospect of a minister whose services would be acceptable it might soon be completed and a congregation organized."

And two years later, the need of ministers in the Province still being very great, Mr. Brooke writes again of the destitution along the River St. John, where, in all the 300 miles of its course, and that through a district every year receiving more and more settlers many of them Scotch or of Scotch descent, he is the only Presbyterian minister.³

So the early years of Dr. Brooke's ministry in Fredericton until the middle of the century passed. And even for long after that, indeed for more than a score of years,⁴ he continued his

1--Letter dated Sept. 25, 1844, in Record of February, 1845.

2--Letter dated March 28, 1845, in Record of August, 1845.

3--Letter dated Feb. 26, 1847, in Record of May, 1847.

4--Croil (Dec. issue of Presbyterian, 1875, page 288) states that "at the time of the Union (of 1875) Dr. Brooke was the oldest minister of the Kirk in the Maritime Provinces. Of that union Dr. Brooke was all along the friend and advocate."

pastorate in St. Paul's, continued too his lively interest in the cause of Presbyterianism throughout the Province, and it is no small tribute to the high esteem in which he was held when we learn from the Missionary Record of April 1859 that he had been appointed Chaplain to the Legislative Council of New Brunswick, an office held hitherto only by ministers of the Church of England. And now we cannot better close this short account of the work of Dr. Brooke than by quoting in full the following tribute paid to him by Hon. Judge Stevens who taught a Bible Class in St. Paul's Sunday School in the early days of the ministry of Dr. Brooke:

"His preaching was the plain simple statement of the Gospel and anyone listening to him could see cultivated tact and the cultured mind. He aimed to give the people the simple truth in a manner that could not be misunderstood and it was that that made him universally beloved by his people. The secret that bound Dr. Brooke to his people was his calm, sympathetic way, his goodness of heart and the simple life that he lived. He was a man of marked literary attainments. For years he was examiner of degrees for the University of New Brunswick and in 1855 that Institution conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity, a tribute well deserved. As to his social life, those who enjoyed his hospitality knew him as a cultured polished gentleman."

In closing this part of our study of the Church of Scotland in the Presbytery of St. John we come last of all to a brief sketch of the ministry of Rev. Andrew Halket, Rev. A. Halket, the successor of Rev. Robert Wilson in the St. Andrew's pulpit of St. Andrew's Church, St. John. The committee appointed to select a 'suitable person' for the vacancy consisted of Robert Rankin of Liverpool, Hon. John Robertson of St. John and James Black of Glasgow, and

1--From Mr. MacFarlane's '1928 History of St. Paul's.'

2--Jack, p. 103.

having reported favourably upon the application of Mr. Halket, then employed as assistant to Rev. Mr. Glen of the Church and Parish of Portobello, Scotland, a bond was signed dated the 25th of February, 1843, and in due time the newly chosen minister set sail for his charge in New Brunswick.

On the 6th of September of that year Mr. Halket, who had arrived in St. John a few weeks before,² appeared before the Presbytery and passed satisfactorily the examination of that body.³ Then on the following day, "kneeling down, he was by prayer and the imposition of the hands of the Presbytery solemnly ordained and set apart to the office of the Holy Ministry."⁴

Unfortunately about this time that part of St. Andrew's congregation that was of Irish descent became offended because of the attitude of certain of the Scottish portion of the congregation who would have to be their minister only a native of Scotland, and they withdrew from that Church and formed a congregation of their own. In connection with this new venture, the St. John Observer of a few weeks later carries the following notice:⁵

"We are authorized to state that the Second Baptist Church in this city has been purchased by the Presbyterians and is to be called the 'First Free Presbyterian Church' in connection with 'The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland.'"

In course of time this new Church came to be called St. John

1--Mr. Halket was born in Edinburgh, Nov. 2, 1810, was educated at the University of Edinburgh and licensed by the Presbytery of Edinburgh, Dec. 28, 1836. Following his return to Scotland he was admitted to Brechin, Sept. 23, 1847. Fasti V, 378, VII, 609.

2--The Halifax Guardian of July 28th, quoting from the St. John Courier of July 22nd, (1843), states: "The Presbytery of St. John will meet in this city on Wednesday the 6th of September. Inter alia the Reverend Andrew Halket will be taken on trial for ordination to the pastoral charge of St. Andrew's Church. The ordination itself, it is expected, will occur on Thursday the 7th, when the Rev. J. M. Brooke of St. Paul's Church, Fredericton, will preach and preside agreeably to the form usual on such occasions. The Rev. Mr. Halket came passenger in the steamer Caledonia and arrived in town on Thursday from Halifax.

3--Jack, 103. 4--Observer of Sept. 12, quoted by Halifax Guardian of Sept. 15th, 1843.

5--This notice is quoted by the Halifax Guardian, Oct. 27, 1843.

Presbyterian Church¹ and the Rev. Robert Irvine of the north
of Ireland was obtained as its minister.²

Mr. Halket, in June of 1844, within a year of his
arrival in the Province, was married to Frances Ann, eldest
daughter of William Taylor of Fredericton, Rev. J. M. Brooke
performing the ceremony.³

After a ministry in St. John of less than four
years Mr. Halket, due to ill-health, returned for a visit to
Scotland. His health however did not improve and he
accordingly sent out his resignation which was received with
very great regret by his people as he had endeared himself to
them "by his very attentive visitations and pulpit ability."⁴

1--This Church was popularly known as "The Irish Church."

2--Mr. Irvine "remained (in St. John) for some years afterward
going to Montreal." Willet's article in "Daily Sun" of Dec.
19th, 1903.

3--Jack, 104

4--Jack, 114, 115.

II

Presbytery of Miramichi.

The story of the beginnings of the Church of Scotland in New Richmond ('geographically in the district of Gaspé, Lower Canada, but ecclesiastically within the bounds of the Presbytery of Miramichi'¹) can best be told by quoting at length from a letter to the Glasgow Colonial Society New Richmond from the Rev. James Steven of the Restigouche who occasionally ministered to this people along the Gaspé coast. Mr. Steven's letter, written under date of March 30th, 1838,² reads as follows:

"I beg to inform you that at a meeting of Presbytery which was held here on the 16th inst, in compliance with the earnest wishes of the Trustees of the congregation at New Richmond, I brought before the notice of the Presbytery the present destitute condition of the settlement; and being appointed by the Presbytery to correspond with the Glasgow Colonial Society with a view to promote if possible their speedy appointment of a minister to that thriving settlement, I earnestly request that you will call the attention of the Directors to this case at your earliest convenience.

"It is no doubt in the recollection of the Directors that in the fall of 1835 (3) the people of New Richmond made a formal application to the Glasgow Colonial Society and forwarded a bond of 100 pounds currency per annum for three years which was accompanied with a letter from me soliciting the grant of 50 pounds sterling per annum for the same period in order to enable them to support the man whom the Society might be pleased in the course of Divine Providence to nominate to labour among the people. And when the people remember with beautiful gratitude the kind and ready attention which the Directors paid to their application and also their liberality in granting the sum of 50 pounds sterling which was solicited, they cannot allow themselves even to suspect the willingness of the Society to befriend them in promoting the dearest interests of their hearts; yet they have to deplore that as yet no appointment of a pastor has been made although upwards of two years and a half have elapsed since the application was made; so many of them are beginning to

1--So termed in the twelfth annual report of the G. C. S. (1840)

2--Missionary Record, Oct. 1838.

3--Mr. Steven makes reference to this application and bond in his letter in the G. C. S. Correspondence, Book 6, no. 203, and dated Dec. 18th, 1835.

despair of obtaining a clergyman from the Church of Scotland; and although they are attached by birth, education and principles to the doctrines and discipline of the Church of Scotland and are most anxious to obtain the regular dispensation of the word and ordinances of the Gospel as formerly enjoyed in their native land, yet it is feared that if the Society cannot hold out some cheering prospects of a speedy appointment of a clergyman, they may be induced (however reluctantly) to forsake the Church of their Fathers.

"I have endeavoured to visit this settlement as often as circumstances would permit, but, situated as I am at a distance of forty-six miles it is not possible that any visits can be frequent. I have however been there twice lately and preached in their meeting house (1) to a most respectable and attentive audience and baptized fifteen children. I may observe that on one of those occasions I visited Carlisle, situated about fifty-four miles from New Richmond, more or less. The Presbyterians there are very anxious to join the people of New Richmond in obtaining a portion of the ministers's labours. There is a new church in progress.

"I earnestly solicit the favour of you to write as soon as possible because the common enquiry is, "Have you received no word yet about a minister? Oh, they have forgotten us altogether." Be pleased therefore to write me and I will lose no time in communicating the intelligence to the good folks of New Richmond; and in so doing you will very much oblige me and gratify the people."

With all its urgency, however, the request of the people of New Richmond met with no response that year,² for the Directors of the Glasgow Colonial Society, try as they would, were unable

1--Referred to in Mr. Steven's letter (# 203, Bk. 6, G. C. S. Corr. dated Dec. 18th, 1835) as a "neat and commodious little chapel."

2--The following is taken from the Record of Oct. 1838 as showing the great destitution in the colonies at that time: "It is to the Directors matter of deep regret that neither New Brunswick nor Nova Scotia have received any accession to their stock of ministers during the year. New Richmond, Sussexvale (and many other places) all important settlements and for a long time destitute of the means of grace, remain unsupplied. The Directors have repeatedly advertised for preachers, English and Gaelic, to occupy these stations ---and they would most earnestly beseech their respected clergy to help them in their endeavours to obtain the services of a few properly qualified young men for fields so inviting and where the want of spiritual instruction is so severely felt. They are satisfied that, were such persons brought before them, there would be no want of pecuniary encouragement to meet each case."

to obtain a minister either for that field or any other in Nova Scotia or New Brunswick. But by the next year (1839)¹ they

Rev. J. M. Brooke were more successful and the twelfth annual report of the Glasgow Colonial Society makes reference to Rev. John M. Brooke taking up his work in that field as follows:²

"The settlement of New Richmond for which the Directors had made several attempts before to provide a minister, has been now privileged with the pastoral labours of the Rev. J. M. Brooke, who, after ordination by the Presbytery of Linlithgow, set sail for the Bay of Chaleur in autumn last (1839) and was followed in the spring of the present year by Mrs. Brooke and her mother."

Mr. Brooke from the first did faithful and conscientious work in his new charge and Souter, writing in the spring of 1840, pays him the following brief tribute, "He is giving great satisfaction to the people of New Richmond and New Carlisle. He will be a great acquisition to us."³ And two months later Mr. Brooke himself writes a very encouraging letter in regard to his work which reads, in part, as follows:⁴

"A winter's residence here has served rather to increase my attachment to the place and to the people and all I regret is that I did not come out half a dozen years sooner. The frame of our new Church was raised on the 13th of May. (5) It is a beautiful situation on the top of a bank near the shore and may be seated to contain five to six hundred. I have been making arrangements and forming classes with a view to the administration of the Lord's Supper sometime before harvest----according to the forms of the Church of Scotland for the very first time in the whole district of Gaspe. We are in hopes our new Church will be so far advanced as to admit of our occupying it upon that occasion."

The Missionary Record of October, 1840, also contains a letter

1--The list of appointments for that year is contained in the Edinburgh Christian Instructor, issue of Nov. 1839.

2--Missionary Record of March, 1841. The report obviously is for 1840.

3--His letter, in Record of July 1840, is dated Apr. 6th, 1840.

4--Letter dated June 10th, 1840, in Edinburgh Christian Instructor of September, 1840.

5--On Nov. 14th, 1839, (Mr. Brooke having arrived Oct. 17th) the people of this place "unanimously resolved to build a new and larger Church." Presbyterian Witness, Jan. 8, 1910.

from Mr. Brooke further describing his work, which letter also reads in part as follows:

"I have been much occupied since I last wrote in preparing for the dispensation of the Lord's Supper. Between sixty and seventy have already given in their names with a view to be received as communicants and of these nearly a third part are for the first time preparing to join in that ordinance. I am to assist Mr. Steven at Restigouche on the first Sabbath of August and I expect him to do me the same kind service at our communion in New Richmond."

The letter continues with an account of his meetings for prayer and missionary intelligence, tells also of a Sunday School conducted by Mrs. Brooke, himself and the elders. Further he states that he has ordained, in addition to the two elders ordained by the Secession minister,¹ six other elders whom he found to be "most willing to co-operate in everything proposed with a view to advance religion in the place," and the letter closes with the hope that he will win even some of the French Roman Catholics to his cause.

Mr. Brooke had been in New Richmond a little over three years when he received a call to St. Paul's Church, Fredericton. The call was accepted and he removed to his new charge in January of 1843. Shortly after his removal the New Richmond congregation made application to the Colonial Committee for another minister,² but with no success, and save for the occasional 'Sabbath and week day services'³ of Mr. Steven and Mr. MacDonnell, and later of other neighbouring ministers, they remained vacant for years until the accepting of their call by Rev. Mr. Davidson in 1851.⁴

1--Rev. A. F. MacCabe. See page 29.

2--Mr. Brooke's letter in Record of Feb. 1844.

3--Letter of Mr. MacDonnell, dated Aug. 12th, 1844, in Record of November, 1844.

4--See page 190.

In December of the year 1839 Rev. James Souter wrote the Glasgow Colonial Society stating that he had opened up a preaching station on the Southwest Branch of the Miramichi in a place about 26 miles from Newcastle and that he intended to preach there about "twelve¹ times a year" as long as he was able. However within a few months of his writing of the above letter, so successful apparently were his efforts in that new field of labour, he was able to send a bond to the Church in Scotland for 130 pounds currency per annum for three years, with the request that 50 pounds sterling additional be granted to them for that same period². In the same letter too he states that already 220 pounds (with prospects of that amount soon being made up to 300 pounds) have been subscribed towards the erection of a church in that field, and further³, the letter continues, "as soon as a minister arrives, steps will be taken to get a similar church erected in the Parish of Blissfield on the same river."

The request of this field for a minister met with an almost immediate response from the Colonial Committee and by the fall of that same year (1840), Rev. John Turnbull (he having received the appointment³) arrived 'with his lady' to take up

1--Letter dated Dec. 26th, 1839, in Book 8 of the G. C. S. Correspondence. (No number to letter.) Reference to this letter and to the opening of this preaching station and also of the one on the Northwest Branch is made in the chapter dealing with the work of Mr. Souter. (See p. 58)

2--Letter dated Apr. 6th, 1840, in Missionary Record of July, 1840. In one place the letter states: "A very neat church with a handsome spire will be built there (Southwest Branch) this summer."

3--Reference is made to his appointment in the report of the Colonial Committee for 1841, in which, referring to the appointments of the previous year, it is stated that "the Rev. Mr. Turnbull of Perth was appointed to the Southwest Branch of the Miramichi."

his work on the Miramichi.¹ Writing shortly after, under
 date of January 26th, 1841, Mr. Turnbull gives
 Rev. John the following quite detailed description of
 Turnbull²
 his work:

"The nature of my work here partakes more of the character of a mission rather than a stated ministry. The sphere of my labours extends over the greater part of four adjacent parishes, namely, Nelson, Blackville, Blissfield and Ludlow. According to the terms of my engagement I preach once a fortnight in the two lower parishes and once a month in each of the two upper. I have therefore very long journeys to perform in every sort of weather so that it is sometimes with the greatest difficulty that I am able at the stated periods to fulfil my engagements.

"The frame of the church is erected on an exceedingly eligible situation, a beautiful rising ground at Bartholomew's Mills in the Parish of Blackville. We expect that it will be finished in August next and that a manse will be built close by it previous to that time."

The letter adds that there is a chapel in the Parish of Ludlow, but that, as to the other places, the schoolhouses must suffice. The letter continues:

"I have got two Sabbath Schools established in the Parish of Blissfield and they are under the superintendence and management of the schoolmasters and some of the more intelligent and pious heads of families. Arrangements are made in the Parishes of Blackville and Ludlow for the immediate formation of others."

In the summer of that year (1841) Mr. Souter wrote in regard to Mr. Turnbull's continuing to do "good work"³ and in the Missionary Record of March of the following year there is contained another letter of Mr. Souter's telling of Mr. Turnbull's first communion in his new field at which there were forty present, some of them coming from a distance of forty miles. And a little later Mr. Turnbull himself

1--The Missionary Record of Dec. 1840, copying from a "local paper," announces the arrival of Mr. Turnbull and lady and tells of his preaching with much acceptance in Newcastle and Chatham.

2--Missionary Record of April, 1841.

3--Missionary Record of Oct. 1841, letter dated July 8th, 1841

¹ writes for grants of Bibles and refers also to his forming of Sunday Schools along the River, being greatly helped in such work by Mrs. Turnbull. Then in the September issue of the Missionary Record of the next year (1843) there is given a brief account of his work in Church and Sunday School as it was at that time. From this account we learn that in the extended territory of about 50 miles in length which made up his field that there was a population of about 4,150, about one fourth of whom were Presbyterians, and that by that year Mr. Turnbull had established no less than five Sunday Schools along the River with about 20 or 30 scholars in each. In the same letter too it is stated that his strenuous labours had begun to tell on his health, so much so that it was decided to connect the Parish of Ludlow with St. Mary's on the Nashwaak, 18 miles distant.

When the word of the Disruption in the Established Church of Scotland reached New Brunswick, Mr. Turnbull, disregarding the views of the majority of the members of the Synod of New Brunswick and more especially of the Presbytery of Miramichi, declared himself for the Free Church and objected in no uncertain terms to a speech made in Scotland by Mr. Souter which declared that New Brunswick would remain loyal to the Establishment.² In May of the following year (1844) he demitted his charge and returned again to Scotland.³ However he did not remain for long in the Mother Land and the September issue of the Missionary Record for that same year contains in its columns

1--Missionary Record of May, 1842, letter dated Feb. 22, 1842.

2--Halifax Guardian, Dec. 29th, 1843.

3--The Halifax Guardian of May 24, 1844, quoting the Miramichi Gleaner of May 15, 1844, makes reference to the leaving of "Rev. Mr. Turnbull and lady."

the following notice of his reappointment to New Brunswick:

"The Rev. Mr. Turnbull who our readers may remember was denied admission to the Presbytery of Miramichi in consequence of his holding to the principles of the Free Church has been re-appointed by the Colonial Committee to Blackville and Nelson and sails for America in the beginning of September."

Mr. Turnbull arrived¹ in the colony on the 28th of October and again took up his work on the Miramichi preaching in Blackville "every Sunday morning and afternoon alternately, and in one schoolhouse in the Parish of Nelson a part of each alternate day and on the other in the other part of the field at a distance of 7 and 15 miles."² However as the work of Mr. Turnbull following the Disruption properly comes within the sphere of the "Free Church," further study of his labours on this field will therefore be reserved until the "Free Church chapter." (See pages 165, 166)

Coming now to a study of the Church of Scotland in Bathurst, the records show that as early as March of 1829 a

Bathurst meeting of "interested settlers" who had heard of the "benevolent work of the Glasgow Colonial Society was held in order to see what the Society could do for them."³

Also about that time a subscription list was "opened for the

1--Free Church Missionary Record of Jan. 1845.

2--From a letter of Mr. Turnbull, written in the latter part of December, 1844, and contained in the Free Church Missionary Record of March, 1845. The letter also states that "Mrs. Turnbull has resumed her Sabbath School work again," that steps are soon to be taken towards the building of a church in Nelson, and that the people of his field wished that their "great and sincere gratitude" be conveyed to the Colonial Committee of the Free Church for "its interest and support."

3--Letter from John Fraser, Esq., Bathurst, dated Mar. 14, 1829. (See letter # 41, G. C. S. Correspondence, Book 3.)

building of a Kirk,¹ but withal for a number of years following 1829 but little progress was made by the Church of Scotland in this district and in the year 1832 a minister of the Secession Church of Nova Scotia, Rev. James Waddell, came to labour for a time in the charge of Bathurst and New Mills. Mr. Waddell² did not remain for long on this field and about the time of his departure in the spring of 1834 steps were again taken by the people of this district for a minister and Kirk of their own and in June of that year Mr. Souter³ writes to say that "the people of Bathurst have subscribed upwards of 100 pounds and obtained a gratis building lot from Hugh Munro, Esqr.⁴ for erecting a Church of Scotland in that place." By January of 1836 the subscriptions had more than doubled and again in that month Mr. Souter writes of conditions in this place as follows⁵:

"I visited Bathurst, the County Town of Gloucester, about 50 miles to the Northward, and preached on the Sabbath to about 200 of a congregation. Bathurst is pleasantly situated, enjoys a considerable timber trade, and, with its adjacencies, has a considerable Presbyterian population. With a grant from your society for a few years, I expect, they will be able to support a minister of their own. Subscriptions to from 200 to 300 pounds have already been obtained-----and I expect the building of a church will be proceeded with this season."

Progress however still was made but slowly and it was not until late in the year 1839 that definite steps were taken to secure a minister of their own from Scotland. And Mr. Souter, in a letter dated December 26th of that year telling of church conditions in Bathurst at that time, makes the following reference

1--Letter # 47, G.C.S. Corr. Bk. 3.

2--See chapter on Secession Church, p. 29.

3--Letter #54, Bk. 6, G.C.S. Corr. , letter dated June 19, 1834.

4--Souter writes (Letter # 8, G.C.S. Corr. Bk. 7) of Mr. Munro as follows, "He was one of the first settlers in Bathurst--- about the last now surviving of the American Loyalists who came and settled in this Province after the Revolution. The old gentleman was for many years a member of the Provincial Assembly, has stood true to us for a lifetime and is quite pleased with the thoughts of getting a minister from the Church of Scotland"

5--Letter # 8, Bk. 7, G.C.S. Corr. dated Jan. 26, 1836.

1
to their plans:

"I have been requested by the committee of management of the new church erecting at Bathurst to inform you that they are about to transmit to your society a bond for 100 pounds currency together with a requisition praying the Society to grant in addition, 50 pounds sterling for three years for the support of a minister among them and entrusting the directors to send them out a clergyman as soon as possible. The Church, which is a handsome structure and pleasantly situated, is now finished externally and a strong desire is manifested on the part of those connected with it in Bathurst and also by the adjoining settlements which are considerable, to have a minister of the Church of Scotland among them."

The request of Bathurst for a minister came before the Colonial Committee meeting in 1840 and the Rev. George MacDon-
2
nell was appointed to this charge. Mr.
Rev. George MacDonnell, though a native of Scotland,
MacDonnell
3
having been born in Kirkcaldy in 1811, re-
ceived part of his education in Halifax, Nova Scotia,
4
before completing it later in the University of Edinburgh.
In the late summer of the year of his appointment he set sail
for New Brunswick, and in due time arrived and took up his
5
work in Bathurst.

1--G. C. S. Corr. Bk. 8, no number to letter.

2--Jan. issue of the Missionary Record for 1841 makes reference to this and other appointments of the Colonial Committee for 1840.

3--Fasti, VII, p. 641.

4--The Missionary Record of March, 1841, contains the following in regard to Mr. MacDonnell and his appointment: "From Bathurst, New Brunswick, a very pressing application having been received, the Rev. George MacDonnell, late missionary to the Scots population in Manchester, was nominated and after ordination by the Presbytery of Lancashire, set sail some time ago for that station. Mr. MacDonnell, though not a native of Halifax, Nova Scotia, was educated there and afterwards came over to attend the classes in literature, philosophy and theology in the University of Edinburgh, and thereafter he received license from the Presbytery. There are peculiar ties which thus bind him to the colonies and the Directors would indulge the fond hope that he may be honored to be long and eminently useful in the station to which he has been sent."

5--Mr. MacDonnell, writing in the Missionary Record of October 1843, under date of July 27th, 1843, states that with the coming of the first of September he will have laboured in his field for three years.

Mr. MacDonnell from the first did faithful and conscientious work in his new field and the report of the Colonial Committee for 1841 refers to his "labouring in his parish with zeal and fidelity." ¹ Also in the Missionary Record for June of that year there is contained a letter from him written under date of April 6th and describing a communion service which he had just held in that charge. It reads as follows:

"You will rejoice to hear that on the last Lord's Day week, the 28th ult., we dispensed in the Scotch Church here the sacrament of the Lord's Supper for the first time. I had no less than three ministers assisting, namely, Rev. Mr. Steven of Restigouche, Rev. Mr. Archibald of Chatham and the Rev. Mr. Brooke of New Richmond. Mr. Steven and Mr. Archibald each brought an elder with them, I having not yet a Session of my own. The number of communicants, including ministers and elders, was about 75."

Like all New Brunswick fields at this time, Bathurst was a difficult charge and the collecting of the salary was one of the most difficult parts of all. Often he had to accept 'store pay,' ² the people being unable to afford the giving of money. But withal ² Mr. MacDonnell kept faithfully on, preaching not only in Bathurst but in some of the surrounding districts, even extending his labours to New Bandon, Belledune and Shippegan, over 60 miles ³ away.

When the word of the Disruption reached New Brunswick Mr. MacDonnell was one of the first to declare himself as remaining ⁴ within the fold of the Church of Scotland. And not only then, but in all the difficult years that followed, he proved himself one of the most loyal and zealous of workers for the cause of the

1--Contained in the Missionary Record of August, 1841.

2--Missionary Record of Oct. 1843--his letter being dated July 27th, 1843. In this letter Mr. MacDonnell suggests that if there was a common fund into which all could pay and then draw out, he would not hesitate about appealing.

3--Same letter as above in Record of Oct. 1843, also a letter of his dated May 8, 1844 in Aug. issue of the Record. In the Record of Nov. 1846 (his letter dated Aug. 28, 1846) he states that at New Bandon he preaches in the Methodist chapel--at many other places in the houses.

4--Record of Jan. 1844, his letter being dated Nov. 9, 1843.

Establishment in New Brunswick.

On the 29th of July 1844 a congregational meeting was held in Bathurst at which meeting gratitude was expressed for the help given by the Colonial Committee in the past and requesting that the grant of 50 pounds per annum to Mr. MacDonnell be still continued.¹ The Mother Church in Scotland, with fine generosity, not only acceded to their request but a few years later made them a further grant of 100 pounds to be used towards the completion of their Church.²

Meanwhile under his faithful ministrations the cause in Bathurst continued to grow and under date of August 28th, 1846, Mr. MacDonnell was able to write that on the first Sunday of that month that he had had the largest communion service up until that time with nearly 100 communicants.³ Then early in the next year his Church granted him leave of absence⁴ and he returned to Scotland for a time where he sought to collect funds for his Church with the result that the Glasgow Ladies Association for the North American Colonies presented the Colonial Committee with

1--See his letter dated Aug. 13, 1844, in Record of Nov. 1844. Such a grant for Mr. MacDonnell was very necessary for from a letter of his dated May 8, 1844 in the August Record of that year it is evident that unless he receives more remuneration he will be forced to leave his field in September.

2--In the Record of Aug. 1846 reference is made to his receiving a grant of 50 pounds; in the Record of Oct. 1847 to his receiving a grant of 100 pounds, being the grant for two years; in the Record of Sept. 1848 to his receiving a grant of 55 pounds, presented to the Colonial Committee (as seen above) by the Glasgow Ladies Association. In the same year 100 pounds was granted to the Trustees of St. Luke's Church, Bathurst, to aid in the completing of the Church. Then in the July Records for the years 1849 to 1852 inclusive reference is made to Mr. MacDonnell receiving each year a grant of 50 pounds.

3--Record of Nov. 1846.

4--Writing from St. John, Feb. 27, 1847, Mr. MacDonnell states that he is supplying in St. Andrew's Church for 2 Sundays and that he is about to return to Scotland for a short season, his Session having given him leave of absence.

the sum of 55 pounds to be given for the use of 'Rev. George MacDonnell of Bathurst.'¹ Later in that year (1847) he¹ returned to his charge in New Brunswick.

After a pastorate of eleven years of "increasing usefulness"² Mr. MacDonnell removed from his Church in Bathurst and returned again to Scotland, and the Rev. James Murray succeeded him in that charge in November, 1852.² And such is the early history of the beginnings of the cause of the Church of Scotland in Bathurst.

As seen in a previous chapter, following the return of Rev. Simon Fraser to Scotland early in 1840, the 'Tabusintac, Burnt Church (Parish of Alnwick) part of his congregation' and the 'Black River (Parish of Glenelg), Kouchibouguac part of his congregation,' each of them having previously sent bonds to the Colonial Committee for ministers of their own,³ now waiting anxiously for those ministers to be sent to them. However the year 1840 wore on and no ministers, up until October of that year, having come out to these vacant charges, Mr. Souter⁴ writes to express his anxiety in regard to the existing destitute situation, stating in his letter that if these parishes together with Dalhousie and New Mills could be supplied with ministers of the

1--Record of December, 1847.

2--Croil, in December issue of the Presbyterian, 1875, p. 292. From this same article we learn that Mr. MacDonnell did not remain long in Scotland but that in 1852 he recrossed the Atlantic and took up work in Ontario. He died there on Apr. 25, 1871.

3--Letter dated Oct. 12, 1840 in Record of December, 1840.

4--Although this congregation did not obtain a minister of its own until 1855 (see previous chapter telling of work of Rev. J. Steven) nevertheless for almost twenty years previous to that date it was desirous of obtaining such a minister. In the tenth annual re-

Church of Scotland, then the "line of ports" along the Gulf of St. Lawrence would in some measure be completed.

By the next year however the request of the congregation of Tabusintac and Burnt Church met with more
 Rev. John success for in that year the Colonial Committee
 MacBean, appointed the Rev. John MacBean of Ardelach,² to
 Tabusintac be their minister. Mr. MacBean did not remain for
 long in that charge, and after a seemingly uneventful pastorate
 of about two years³ (during which it is interesting to
 note that in November of 1843 he was presented with a gown by
 the Ladies of his congregation)⁴ he removed from them and on the
 24th of January, 1844, he was inducted into
 Mr. MacBean the vacant charge of St. Andrew's Church in
 removes to Chatham. A report of that induction service
 Chatham as found in the Halifax Guardian of February
 9th of that year follows:

port of the G. C. S. , 1837, (on the first Wednesday of June of which year, according to the Record of Sept. 1844, St. John's Church, Dalhousie, was incorporated in conformity to and in pursuance of an Act of the General Assembly of the Province of New Brunswick) reference is made to a request for "a minister for Dalhousie and other settlements in the Bay of Chaleur," their request stating further that they are desirous of a grant of 50 pounds per annum, they themselves having made up a bond of 100 pounds currency per annum. Their request however, though Souter from time to time made reference to their need of a minister, met with no response. Then in the September Record of 1844 there is reference to another meeting being held on the 15th of June of that year and in that same issue there is contained a letter, another request it is, dated June 26, 1844, from J. Montgomery, Chairman of Trustees, which reads as follows: "I have the honor to enclose herein a bond for the sum of 450 pounds New Brunswick currency by order of the Trustees of St. John's Church, Dalhousie, to and for the uses of the purpose therein mentioned. And at the same time I am directed to solicit aid to the extent of 50 pounds annually in addition to the sum secured by said bond, to which I beg your best attention and early reply." Such was the request of 1844, but, as seen above,⁶² it was over ten years before they received a minister of their own.

2--In the Record of August, 1841--(this note continued on next page)

3--Croil, in Dec. issue of Presbyterian, 1875, p. 295.

4--Halifax Guardian, Dec. 1st, 1843.

"On Wednesday, the 24th ult., the Rev. John MacBean was inducted by the Presbytery of Miramichi to the pastoral charge of the congregation of St. Andrew's Church, Chatham, as successor to the Rev. Robert Archibald who has lately removed from that place to Scotland. Mr. MacBean is already well known in New Brunswick as an able, faithful and devoted minister of the Gospel and his appointment to his present charge, though doubtless a serious loss to his late congregation at Alnwick, has, we understand, given great satisfaction. (1) A correspondent assures us that the sermons he has preached in St. Andrew's Church since his appointment have been seldom equalled and he bids fair to having a crowded congregation very soon." (2)

It was in this Church that a few months later the Synod of New Brunswick met and, the question of the Disruption having been brought up, decided that it would remain in connection with the Church of Scotland. In this decision Mr. MacBean was an ardent supporter of the Establishment and when in the following year and again in 1847 the Deputations from the Mother Church in Scotland visited New Brunswick he was a great help in making their visits so successful.

Mr. MacBean remained in Chatham for a pastorate of about four years ³ following which he returned to Scotland "on account of his health." He was succeeded by the Rev. William Stewart ⁴ who was inducted here in March, 1849. Further reference to Mr. Stewart's ministry will be found on pages 188 and 189.

(from previous page) there is contained the Colonial Committee report for that year telling of the recent appointment of Rev. John MacBean to New Brunswick. From Fasti, VII, p. 593, we learn that Mr. MacBean was born in Nairn, Apr. 1st, 1811, that he was educated at King's College, Aberdeen, and that prior to his appointment to New Brunswick he was "sometime a private tutor and subsequently a schoolmaster in Scotland and England."

1--Mr. MacBean, writing Aug. 16th, 1844, states that he is glad that the Colonial Committee is satisfied with his change of pastorate. (Missionary Record of November, 1844.)

2--Copied from Hfx. Guardian of Feb. 9, 1844, by Record of May, 1844.

3--In the August Records of 1846 and 1849 it is stated that Mr. MacBean received grants of 30 pounds, in the Sep. Record of 1848, 50 pounds. These grants are for the work of the previous year.

4--July Record, 1849. Fasti VII, 593, refers to Mr. MacBean as an accomplished scholar in the Classics. From 'Fasti' too we learn that he died Aug. 13th, 1897.

In the year 1842,¹ the year following Mr. MacBean's appointment to Tabusintac, the Rev. Angus MacMaster² was appointed by the Colonial Committee to the congregation of St. Stephen's Church, Black River, and Kouchibouguac. Mr. MacMaster arrived in his field that same year and after he had been there for a quite considerable time³ he was inducted into that charge on the 20th of December of that year, Rev. Mr. Archibald of Chatham presiding.⁴

Mr. MacMaster had not been long in his new field when the Mother Church in Scotland was rent in twain by the Disruption of 1843. When the question came before the meeting of the New Brunswick Synod in Chatham in September of 1844, Mr. MacMaster, on the day following the passing of the resolution that the Synod should retain its connection with the Establishment,⁵ "craved leave to record his dissent" from that resolution. However though thus dissenting Mr. MacMaster continued his connection with the Synod of the Church of Scotland for over a year and it was not until that body met in St. John on the 11th of September of the next year that he expressed his desire to resign from the Synod of the Established Church and from the congregation of St. Stephen's, Black River.⁶ His Trustees accordingly released him on the 2nd of December, but even after that he still continued

1--Fasti VII, pages 610 and 611.

2--Mr. MacMaster was born about 1814 in Kilmory, Arran, and was educated at the University of Glasgow. Fasti, p. 610.

3--Mr. Souter writing in the Record of Jan. 1843 under date of Oct. 10, 1842 refers to Mr. MacMaster as being settled in his new charge.

4--Miramichi Gleaner, issue of Jan. 3, 1843.

5--This is more fully taken up in the chapter on the Disruption, p. 156

6--Gleaner, issue of Dec. 13th, 1845.

to labour for a time in this congregation, and Mr. Henderson of St. James Church, Newcastle, under date of January 24th, 1846, writes of him and of his field as follows:

"Rev. Mr. MacMaster has withdrawn from connection with us and though he still continues preaching in the district and will do so until spring, a part of those formerly under his charge have sent to request supply from the Presbytery till something more permanent in connection with the Establishment takes place."

Mr. MacMaster, following his removal from Black River, returned to Scotland for a time to visit his parents who had been in poor health. Then late in the year 1847 he returned again to New Brunswick, this time to minister to the congregation of New Mills. His work in that field, however, will be dealt with in the 'Free Church chapter.' (Pages 170 and 171)

Coming now to a brief study of the early days of the Presbyterian Church in the districts of Moncton, Shediac and Salisbury, it is to be noted that early in the year 1841 the settlers of those districts became anxious to obtain for themselves the services of a minister of the Church of Scotland. Accordingly they made their application, which application in time came before the

Rev. William Henderson, Colonial Committee in Scotland.
Moncton, Salisbury and Shediac The Missionary Record of August, 1841, makes the following reference to that application and to the appointing of

1--Record of April, 1846.

2--For years this field remained vacant and finally in 1871 it was combined with Red Bank (referred to by Mr. Souter as Northwest Branch) with Rev. Samuel Russell of New Brunswick as minister.

3--Free Church Record, December, 1847.

4--At a meeting of the Presbytery of Miramichi referred to in the June Record of 1842, reference is made to the consideration of an application for a minister of the Church of Scotland from a neighboring county, which they agreed to recommend. This, without doubt, is a reference to the above mentioned districts.

Rev. William Henderson as their minister:

1

"In consequence of an application by the Presbytery of Miramichi for a minister to the Parishes of Moncton, Salisbury and Shediac in the County of Westmoreland, which Parishes had subscribed bonds to the amount of 120 pounds currency for three years, the Committee have appointed the Rev. William Henderson(2) of Aberdeen as minister, and voted him 50 pounds a year support during the same period; after which it is expected that the people of the Parishes will be able to maintain their pastor from their own resources. Steps have been taken for the erecting of a church in the Parish of Shediac and 230 pounds are already subscribed for that purpose."

Soon after the rising of the 1841 Assembly Mr. Henderson sailed to take up his work in New Brunswick and the report of the Colonial Committee for the next year refers to his having safely reached his new field of labour, in which field, the report continues, "he is now conducting his labours with assiduity and acceptance."³

For over two years Mr. Henderson laboured in this extended field, laying in the various places the foundations of the Presbyterian Church. Then early in the year
 Mr. Henderson
 accepts call
 to Newcastle
 1844, having received a call from St. James' Church, Newcastle, rendered vacant by Mr. Souter's return to Scotland in 1843, he accepted the call and was inducted into his new pastoral charge on the 21st of February, 1844.⁴

Mr. Henderson, from the time of his coming to Newcastle, was one of the leaders of the Church of Scotland in the Presbytery of Miramichi. True, at the time of the Disruption his stand for

1--Souter, writing under date of July 8th in October Record of 1841 states that the bonds that should have accompanied the above application have been delayed, but that he is now sending certified copies of bonds for 110 pounds currency per annum for three years.

2--Mr. Henderson was born on the 18th of Aug. 1800 and educated at Kings College, Aberdeen; was teacher at Coldstream Academy for 8 years, licensed by Presbytery of Aberdeen and ordained to Union Church, Aberdeen; in Aug. 1841 appointed by Colonial Committee to New Brunswick mission stations. Fasti VI. 610.

3--Record of August, 1842.

4--Croil, Dec. issue of Presbyterian, 1875, p. 293.

a time appears to have been rather uncertain and the 'Free Church Party'¹ cherished the hope that he would join them, but in the end he retained his connection with the Established Church and joined with the other ministers of the Presbytery in giving a right hearty/welcome to the deputations of that Church that visited them from the Home Church in Scotland. About this time too, it is interesting to note, he was waited on by a "deputation from the female part of his congregation" and presented with a pulpit gown and Bible "as a testimony of respect and affection for his devoted services as a Christian pastor."²

Mr. Henderson, in the difficult years that followed his coming to Newcastle, interested himself not only in his own congregation but in all the destitute congregations round about. For years he visited annually his former congregation in the County of Westmoreland, visited too occasionally the stations of Kouchibouguac, Black River, Tabusintac, Burnt Church and Ship-³pegan. And writing to Dr. Simpson of the 1845 deputation, under date of January 24th, 1846, he gives the following account of the destitution and need in the Presbytery of Miramichi at that⁴ time:

"I beg leave earnestly to request that you will use your influence in getting a proper missionary to come out to this Presbytery as early as possible. You personally saw a part of our destitution while you were here. Since your return to Scotland, the Rev. Mr. MacMaster has withdrawn from connection with us-----. The congregation at New Richmond where Mr. Brooke for-

1--Rev. J. Gibson MacGregor, writing from St. John, Oct. 30, 1844 (see Free Church Record of Jan. 1845) states that "it is expected that Mr. Henderson of Newcastle will adhere to this protest" against the Establishment.

2--Halifax Guardian, June 13, 1845 and taken from the Miramichi Gleaner. The deputation consisted of "Mrs. Harkins, Mrs. Hutchinson and Miss Fraser."

3--Record of January, 1853.

4--Record of April, 1846.

merly was, is still vacant. There are a number of settlements along the Gulf Shore between Bathurst and Dalhousie requiring occasional supplies. The congregation at Tabusintac and Burnt Church, where Mr. MacBean formerly laboured, and the three stations at Shediac, Moncton and Salisbury are all as sheep without a shepherd still. And while the number of ministers in connection with this Presbytery is so small (only four) you can easily see how urgent is our need for aid. The Presbytery have given a guarantee for 50 pounds, New Brunswick currency. An additional bond for 100 pounds currency was sent home by the deputation and both the Synod and the Presbytery have united in petitioning the Colonial Committee for a grant of 100 pounds sterling for a missionary for the period of three years."

For years Mr. Henderson continued faithfully to labour in his charge in Newcastle, continued too his visiting of the destitute and needy communities in the Presbytery and on occasion dispensing to them the sacraments. We cannot better close this brief account of his ministry in Newcastle, more especially of the early years of that ministry, than simply by quoting the following tribute paid to him by Dr. Croil in the December issue of the Presbyterian for 1875:

"Mr. Henderson was the pastor of this Church for twenty-four years. In recognition of his ripe scholarship and his eminent services to the church, he received the degree of Doctor in Divinity from Queen's University, Kingston, in 1862. His character was adorned with all the graces of the Christian gentleman. Kind, gentle, sympathetic, he took part in every good work and was beloved by old and young, the rich and poor alike. He died on the 6th of June, 1868."

In this chapter there has been taken up the story of the work of the ministers who came from the Church of Scotland in the Home Land to New Brunswick in the period between the formation of the Synod in 1835 and the meeting of that Synod in Chatham in September of 1844. And now, that done, we are ready to go on to a

study, as far as New Brunswick is concerned, of 'The Disruption and Afterwards.'

CHAPTER VIII.

The Disruption.

Following the Disruption in the Established Church of Scotland in May of 1843¹ the Church Courts of both the Established and the Free Churches sent long and explanatory letters² to the ministers in the colonies relative to the secession which had taken place. And in course of time one and another of the ministers of New Brunswick declared themselves either as retaining their connection with the Established Church or as linking up with the newly-formed Free Church. In regard to the latter body, hardly had the Disruption taken place in Scotland, when, in St. Andrew's Church, St. John, Rev. J. Gibson MacGregor, a 'licentiate of the Church,'³ declared himself as being "conscientiously moved solemnly in the presence of God and the assembled congregation, to renounce all connection

1-- See p. 16. (For letters to colonial ministers, see Appendix IV.)

2--Accompanying the letter from the Church of Scotland was a 'pastoral letter' dated May 29th, 1843 (See Record of July) which had also been sent to the ministers of the Establishment in the Home Land. It is a letter of encouragement, and a call to courage and renewed consecration. "Let this be a time of purification and of cleansing," it reads. And in regard to the brethren who have gone out, the letter continues, "let brotherly love continue."

3--Hannay's History of New Brunswick, Vol.ii, p. 408 ff. Mr. MacGregor was referred to in the History of St. Stephen's Church, St. John. Jack (p. 101) makes reference to him as having been "brought out from Scotland as a school-master under a guarantee by a number of prominent St. John citizens." And the Halifax Guardian of July 7th, 1843 states that "the classical school of the Rev. J. G. MacGregor was examined on the 30th ult. by the Rev. Messrs. Wishart and Stavely, and in the presence of several of the townsmen." Further it appears that all were doing well in the subjects taught.

with the Church of Scotland and to profess adherence as a preacher to the principles advocated by those Fathers and Brethren who have formed themselves into 'The General Assembly of the Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland.'¹ And in later letters to the Free Church in Scotland he expresses the hope that other ministers will fall in line with that body,² states too, in one of his letters, that in view of the fact that the Nova Scotia Synod had 'gone free'³ he is encouraged to think that the Synod of New Brunswick would take a similar stand. There was however another and a very different side to the matter. For just a little over four months after the disruption had taken place in Scotland, Rev. A. MacLean, Clerk of Synod at the time, wrote to say that he thought the New Brunswick Synod would retain its connection with the Established Church;⁴ and from that time on this minister and that----Revs. MacBean, MacDonnell, Wishart, Brooke, and Mr. MacLean himself, writing as a minister, wrote to express their continued allegiance to the Church of Scotland.⁵

So the months passed and no very definite action was taken by the Synod of New Brunswick until its meeting in 1844, when

Meeting of Synod of New Brunswick, Chatham, September, 1844	early in September of that year, it convened in St. Andrew's Church in Chatham. Following is an account of the proceedings of that meeting, and more especially of the proceedings relative
--	---

1--Letter dated June 26, 1843 (he had taken his stand the Sunday before) appearing in the St. John Observer of the 30th, and copied by the Halifax Guardian in issue of July 7, 1843.

2--Letters dated Feb. 26, 1844 (in Free Church Record of May, 1844) and July 29, 1844, in Free Church Record of Oct. 1844. In this latter letter he refers to stand of the Nova Scotia Synod.

3--This Synod 'went Free' in July, 1844. Gregg's Short History, p. 41.

4--Letter dated Sept. 28th, in Record of March, 1844.

5--Mr. MacBean's letter (dated Oct. 9, 1843) declaring his stand appears in the Dec. Record of that year, and the Records following shortly afterwards record the stand of the ministers who later declared themselves for the Church of Scotland.

to the Disruption:¹

²
 "The Synod of New Brunswick met on Thursday, the 5th of September, and was opened by the Rev. Mr. Hannay of Richibucto, who preached an excellent and appropriate discourse from Ephesians 1,22,23--'And hath put all things under His feet, and gave Him to be the head over all things to the Church, Which is His body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all.' After the roll of the Synod had been made up, the Rev. John M. Brooke of Fredericton, was elected Moderator and the Rev. William Henderson of Newcastle, was requested to act as Clerk pro tempore. The usual committees being appointed and the Synod, having unanimously declared that a portion of their next sederunt should be set aside for devotional exercises, two of their number were appointed to conduct these services, after which the Synod adjourned till to-morrow.

"On Friday the Synod met at 10 o'clock a. m. After being opened with prayer by the Moderator, some time was spent in devotional exercises, the Rev. Mr. Halket, St. John and the Rev. Mr. MacBean of Chatham officiating.

"The committee appointed to examine the records of Presbyteries gave in their reports, after which the Rev. Mr. Hannay of Richibucto moved the adoption of the following resolutions which was seconded by the Rev. Mr. Steven of Restigouche, namely,

Whereas in order to promote the peace and unity of the Church it is desirable that the Synod should remove certain doubts and difficulties that have already arisen with respect to its connection with the Church of Scotland and the obligation and responsibilities which that connection involves,---

i--Therefore, Resolved, That, whereas the Church of Scotland 'disclaims all jurisdiction over her branches in the colonies; leaving them to exercise full, free and supreme ecclesiastical and spiritual authority over all their members, this Synod remain as heretofore in connection with the Church of Scotland as by law established:

ii--That, as this Synod is not represented in the General Assembly of the Parent Church, and has no voice in the councils of that body, it is not legally qualified to express either approval or disapproval of her acts:

iii--That this Synod has hitherto acted and will still continue to act on the principle of maintaining friendly correspondence with all other Presbyterian Churches throughout the world that hold the Westminster Standards, and of receiving

1--From Chatham Gleaner, Sept. 14th, 1844.

2--As can be seen from previous chapters, the personnell of the Synod of New Brunswick at this time was as follows: Presbytery of St. John, Revs. A. Halket and W. T. Wishart of St. John, Rev. A. Stevens of St. James, Rev. John Cassilis of St. Patrick's, Rev. J. M. Brooke of Fredericton, Rev. A. Donald of Norton, &c, and Rev. J. G. MacGregor, licentiate of the Church, resident in St. John; Presbytery of Miramichi, Rev. W. Henderson, Newcastle, Rev. J. MacBean, Chatham, Rev. A. MacMaster, Black River, Rev. J. Hannay, Richibucto, Rev. G. MacDonnell, Bathurst, Rev. J. Steven, Campbellton.

such qualified ministers or probationers of said churches as may feel desirous of placing themselves under its jurisdiction and control, agreeably to the terms of the aforesaid resolution.

"It was moved by Rev. Mr. MacMaster and seconded by Rev. Mr. Henderson that the following be put as an amendment to the second resolution:

ii--That as this Synod is not represented in the General Assembly of the Parent Church and has no voice in the councils of that body, we hold ourselves not to be responsible for any of her acts, and as a Synod, are not qualified to express either approval or disapproval of these acts.

"Nine voted for Mr. Hannay's motion and three for the amendment."

The following day the Synod met again, on which day Mr. MacMaster, not satisfied with the decisions of the previous day, "craved leave to record his dissent from the resolutions of yesterday in regard to the connection between the Church of Scotland and this Synod, which the court decided it was incompetent, according to the laws of the Church, now to receive. From this judgment Mr. MacMaster dissented."

Shortly after the rise of the Synod Rev. Mr. MacGregor² wrote the Free Church in Scotland to state that two of the members of the St. John Presbytery, Revs. Andrew Donald and Andrew Stevens, (who possibly had been influenced by the eloquent appeal of Rev. Mr. MacNaughton) had "signified their intention" of withdrawing from the Church of Scotland. No definite

1--This Synod also took up the matter of trying to obtain two missionaries from the Church of Scotland, one for the Presbytery of St. John, the other for that of Miramichi. The Moderator and Clerk were appointed a committee to carry on the necessary correspondence. (See page 128) The Synod also took up the question of a home educated ministry, but no very definite action was taken; also the matter of ministers of the Province accepting charges and offices 'at home' who have produced no Presbyterial certificate and no release from their charges in New Brunswick. The Synod made the request that the Colonial Committee adopt such measures as might appear best to put a stop to this practise.

2--Letter dated Oct. 30, 1844, in Free Church Record of Jan. 1845.
3--He spoke in St. John late in Aug. 1844, Jack, p. 110, 111.

move towards the organization of a new Synod however was made until March of the following year (1845) when a deputation from the Free Church of Scotland consisting of Rev. John MacMillan, formerly of Ballachulish but at that time of Cardross, and Rev. Patrick L. Miller of Wallacetown, Dundee, held a meeting in the Hall of the Mechanic's Institute, St. John. "On Thursday evening the 13th of March," so an account of the meeting reads, "a very interesting and enthusiastic meeting was held----the object of which was to diffuse among the auditors some information concerning the prospects of the Free Church of Scotland." And to such good effect was the meeting that four days later, on the 17th of March, three of the ministers formerly of the Established Church, came together to form "The Synod of New Brunswick adher-

ing to the Westminster Standards."

Formation of the
Synod of New Brunswick
adhering to the
Westminster Standards

Following is an account of the
proceedings of the organization
meeting of that Synod:

"We, the undersigned ministers belonging to the Synod of New Brunswick in connection with the Established Church of Scotland, find ourselves constrained to abandon all connection with the aforesaid Synod for the following reasons:--

I."First-Because the aforesaid Synod at their meeting in Chatham on the 5th of September, 1844, came to the resolution to continue in connection with the Church of Scotland as by law established.

II."Secondly-Because we find ourselves debarred from holding any communion with the Established Church of Scotland, seeing that Church, as at present constituted, has, as it appears to us, preferred the will of the civil magistrate to the will of the Lord Jesus in matters belonging to His own house and kingdom, in as far as it has admitted the usurpation of spiritual authority by the Supreme civil court of Scotland in the following incidents:-

1--From John S. Willet's "St. John Presbyterian" in Daily Sun of Dec. 19th, 1903. (See St. John Public Library.)

2--Halifax Guardian, April 11th, 1845.

1."That they, the present Establishment, suffered the various interdicts of the Supreme civil court, prohibiting ministers and probationers from preaching the Gospel throughout the district of Strathbogie; deeming that the rejection of a presentee, on account of the presentation, is a civil wrong which may be dealt with according to the ordinary course of law; forbidding ministers under pains and penalties, to proceed to the solemn duty of ordination; reversing various sentences of the churches in the suspension and deposition of ministers----that they, the present Establishment, suffered these interdicts and sentences of the Supreme civil court to be executed without any remonstrance or protest on their part, thereby practically acquiescing in them.

2."That the form of ordination in the case of Mr. Edwards, of Marnoch, was gone through by the seven ministers of Strathbogie in obedience to the Supreme civil court, although they were under suspension; and that, notwithstanding such departure from the Word of God and the standards of the Church of Scotland, this person is received by the present Establishment as a duly ordained minister of that Church.

3."That the seven ministers of Strathbogie were deposed from the office of the ministry, and that, notwithstanding such deposition continuing unremoved, the present Establishment declared these seven persons to be in full possession of the functions of the ministry.

4."That the present Establishment has accepted of, and submitted to an Act of Parliament, commonly called Lord Aberdeen's Bill, which, among other things, admits of parties appealing from the judgment of the supreme spiritual court to the civil court, thus recognizing the civil court as possessed of ultimate jurisdiction in spiritual matters, a doctrine against which our forefathers protested, and on account of which they suffered in past days.

"It appears to us that in submitting to these varied acts of usurpation on the part of the Civil Magistrate and in failing to testify against them the present Establishment has preferred the will of Caesar to the will of Him whom the Father has appointed to be 'the Head over all things to the Church,' and has thus obeyed man rather than God.

III. "Because we cannot discover, from the recorded acts of the Establishment, any tokens of repentance on account of these things, or any symptoms of return to the good old paths from which they have wandered.

"For the foregoing reasons we feel bound by a solemn sense of duty to abandon all connection with the Established Church of Scotland, and we do hereby renounce all connection with the Church---and further, being fully persuaded that the present Synod of New Brunswick is resolved upon remaining in connection with the Established Church of Scotland, we are now constrained, however painful to our feelings, to withdraw from the aforesaid Synod, and we hereby do withdraw and abandon all connection with the aforesaid Synod of New Brunswick.

"Moreover, having an earnest desire to advance the cause of Christ in this land, and believing that we shall best be enabled to carry out our views by observing and maintaining the Presbyterian order of our forefathers, we do therefore, after prayer and conference, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, the only King and Head of the Church, constitute ourselves into a Presbyterian body under the name of the Synod of New Brunswick adhering to the Standards of the Westminster Confession, and this we do for ourselves and for as many as may unite with us, at St. John, on this seventeenth day of March, one thousand eight hundred and forty-five years.

(Signed) ---

John Turnbull
(Minister of the Gospel at
Blackville and Nelson);

Andrew Stevens
(Minister of the Gospel at St.
Stephen and St. James);

Andrew Donald
(Minister of the Gospel at Hammond
River, Norton and Saltsprings).

Thus was formed what was popularly known as 'The Free Church Synod of New Brunswick.' And immediately following their organization they met together as a Synod and the fol-

lowing is an account of the proceedings
Meeting of the ¹
of that meeting:
newly-formed Synod

"The Rev. J. Turnbull was chosen Moderator, and the Rev. A. Donald, Clerk pro tempore. The Rev. Patrick L. Miller of the Free Church of Scotland was invited to take his seat as a member of the Synod. The Synod resolved that each sederunt be opened with devotional exercises. Having appointed committees for overtures and the preparation of formulae, the Synod adjourned till twelve o'clock of the next day.

"March 18th--At their next sederunt they proceeded, inter alia to the consideration of two overtures, one regarding the office of Elder, and the other regarding the office of Deacon; and resolved that each minister be enjoined to bring these subjects before their people and to use the utmost diligence in the rebuilding of these waste places in Zion.

"At a subsequent sederunt, on the same day, the Synod adopted certain formulae of questions to be put to office-bearers, etc.

"At their last sederunt, which took place late on the

1--Still from the Halifax Guardian of April 11, 1845.

evening of the 18th, and was prolonged till half past two o'clock a. m. of the 19th, they came to the resolution 'of maintaining a close communion with all Churches throughout the world which hold the Head and walk according to the truth as it is in Jesus.' And they recorded the expression of 'their deep sympathy with the Free Church of Scotland in her recent contendings for the honor of Christ and the privileges of His people, her sacrifices for conscience sake and her unceasing and multiplies efforts for the cause of the Gospel, both at home and abroad.

"It was earnestly enjoined upon the Moderator that he apply to the Colonial Committee of the Free Church of Scotland to send forth labourers to the help of the Synod that they may be enabled to relieve the spiritual wants of multitudes within the Province.

"A committee was appointed to correspond with ministers of the other Synod, with the earnest hope that some of them may be induced to unite with them in renouncing their connection with the Establishment, and maintaining the same testimony for truth.

"The Moderator was appointed to prepare and publish a pastoral letter, addressed to all Presbyterians within their bounds, having special reference to the causes of their leaving the Synod of New Brunswick, etc. The Synod entered upon the minutes the deep sense of gratitude to God for the seasonable help afforded them through the instrumentality of the deputation of the Free Church of Scotland, the Rev. Messrs John MacMillan of Cardross, and Patrick L. Miller of Dundee.

"The Rev. J. Gibson MacGregor, licentiate of the Church of Scotland, gave in his adherence to the principles of the Synod and was received as a preacher in connection with them.

"The Clerk was instructed to have a complete report of the proceedings of the Synod published for circulation, and to send a copy to the Moderators of various Presbyterian Churches, namely, the Free Church of Scotland, the Presbyterian Church of Ireland, the Presbyterian Church of England, the Synod of Nova Scotia adhering to the Standards of the Westminster Confession and the Presbyterian Church of Canada.

"The Synod appointed their next meeting to be held in Fredericton on the 15th of July next at 6 o'clock, p. m., and adjourned.

(Signed) A. Donald
Synod Clerk *Pro Tem.*

Such is the story of the effect of the Disruption of the Established Church of Scotland upon the Synod of New Brunswick in connection with that Church. Such also is the story of the formation and of the first meeting of a second Synod in that Province. And now the following concluding chapters will tell the story of the early progress of those Synods as they start

their march down the years----a march that was ultimately to lead to their coming together again, thirty years later, in the union of all the Presbyterian Churches in Canada in 1875.

CHAPTER IX.

'AFTERWARDS'

1845 - - - 1852.

I.

'The Free Church.'

The Free Church deputation (Revs. Miller and MacMillan) did not confine their labours in New Brunswick solely to the encouraging of the formation of a new Synod, as seen in the previous chapter, but rather during their stay they visited many of the congregations in various parts of the Province seeking to stir up an active interest in the cause of the Church which they represented. The record of their itinerary from the time that they arrived in St. John from Digby on the 5th of March shows that almost immediately they divided and that Mr. MacMillan journeyed down the shore to Charlotte County, where, on the following Sunday he preached three times in the town of St. Andrew's. On his return trip to the city he preached, also three times, at Magagadavic, and arriving in St. John, was present, as has been seen, at the public meeting held on the even-

1--Free Church Record of May, 1845. The letter (that of Rev. Mr. Miller, dated St. John, March 27th, 1845) adds, in regard to St. Andrew's that "their late pastor is now in Scotland and his deserted watch tower is without a watchman."

2--Same letter as above. At this place it states there are a number of Presbyterians, consisting of both Highlanders and English, and that they were very favourably disposed toward the cause of the Free Church.

ing of March the 13th. Two days later he left for Fredericton where he preached three times in the Baptist and Methodist Churches, where, too, he held a public meeting on the 17th "which was numerously attended." The following day he left for Canada by way of Woodstock and Boston.

In the meantime Rev. Patrick Miller was occupied in and about the city of St. John. For three successive Sundays he occupied the pulpit of St. John's Church. Also he visited the three stations of Rev. Mr. Donald in Kings County, also the congregation of Springfield. On the 27th of March he preached in Carleton (across the Harbour from St. John) and reported from that place that there was quite a likely possibility of their applying to the Free Church for a minister of their own. The letter telling of the above visits continues:

"I leave this country, God willing, for Fredericton on the 29th, and after spending a Sabbath there, I purpose going on to the Miramichi district where Mr. Turnbull is labouring. He thought a visit from one of the deputation might be instrumental in doing great good."

And so it happened that in April of that year (1845) the district of Miramichi was visited by Rev. Mr. Miller, and the local paper carries the following brief notice of that visit:

"The Rev. Mr. Miller, a delegate of the Free Church of Scotland has been preaching to large audiences in Newcastle, Chatham and Douglastown. He has also addressed the inhabitants on the subject of the recent Disruption in the Established Church of Scotland."

Mr. Miller also visited some of the settlements north of the Miramichi and Mr. MacDonnell furnishes us with an interesting account of his visit in that district, an account rendered even

1--Mr. Miller's letter previously referred to, dated March 27th, 1845, in the May issue of the Free Church Record for that year.
2--Chatham Gleaner, Apr. 14th, 1845. See also Halifax Guardian, April 25th, 1845.

more interesting because it is written by a minister of the Establishment. It reads, in part, as follows:

"Messrs Miller and Turnbull spent several days and a Sabbath at New Mills and Dalhousie. On their way down Mr. Miller preached at Belledune and afterwards addressed the audience. Mr. Turnbull also expatiated upon the criminality of the Church of Scotland Synod of New Brunswick for adhering to the Church. A similar manifestation was displayed in the Methodist Chapel, Bathurst, on the evening of the following day. What was remarkable was that they did not take up a collection in this place."(1)

Four months after their organization meeting in St. John the ministers of the 'Free Church' party, in accordance with their plans made at that meeting, met Synod resolves itself into a Presbytery, July, 1845 in Fredericton in the month of July. At this meeting, on account of the fewness of their numbers, the Synod resolved itself² into a Presbytery. Following is an account of their meeting:

"On the 16th day of July, 1845, at Fredericton, there appeared two ministers, the Rev. John Turnbull and the Rev. Andrew Donald. These gentlemen along with Rev. Andrew Stevens (brother of Judge Stevens of St. Stephen, N. B.) were stationed ministers in New Brunswick. At this meeting of the new Presbytery, the Rev. Robert Irvine, pastor of the St. John Presbyterian Church, and also the Rev. John Irvine, who presented his commission from the Colonial Committee of the Free Church of Scotland (although he was an Irishman) and was admitted and taken under the care of this new Presbytery. Not only the Colonial Committee of the Free Church of Scotland, but the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland took a lively and most favourable interest in the infant cause of Presbyterianism in this Province."

Before going further with the study of the growth of the Free Church in New Brunswick, let us right here turn our attention to a brief study of the work of the ministers who first met to

1--Letter dated Bathurst, May 22, 1845, in Church of Scotland Record of Aug. 1845. In this letter Mr. MacDonnell laments the injurious effect of a movement that divides small communities already too much divided.

2--Willet's article in 'Daily Sun' (St. John) Dec. 19, 1903.

organize themselves into a court of that Church, more especially of Messrs. Turnbull and Donald, both of whom long and faithfully served the Free Church in New Brunswick. In regard

Rev. John Turnbull, to the former, it was just a week after
Southwest Miramichi the formation of the Synod in St. John
that he wrote to the Colonial Committee
of the need and of the work in his district and the districts
round about. His letter reads, in part, as follows:

"The abounding destitution is truly fearful----- . Were you to send us two missionaries at once, lively Christians, men of God, with the spirit of their office, their able and efficient agency would, by the blessing from on high, do unspeakable service to the cause.

"The new Church at Nelson is now in process of erection. our numbers are increasing and the interest awakened is sustained in the building."

Mr. Turnbull remained in the district of Southwest Miramichi until the year 1852, when, according to the Free Church Record of October of that year, he "requested leave to demit his charge and to return to his native country on account of the inadequate support which he received." And shortly after his demission of that charge he writes regarding it that with depressing times in certain parts of such a 70 mile field, he found the labours too strenuous. His letter continues with a detailed description of his former field which reads as follows:

"The lowest Parish is Southwest Miramichi with a population of 1802. Thirty families belong to the Presbyterian congregation and there are two elders. There is a majority of Roman Catholics, a few families of Episcopalians and a larger number of Methodists having their separate chapels finished. The Presbyterian one is neither lathed nor plastered.

"The next Parish adjoining above on the main branch of the River is Blackville with a population of 1327. Twenty families are Presbyterian and were organized at the same time as those

1--Letter dated Blackville, Mar. 24, 1845, in Free Church Record of May, 1845.

2--In Oct. 1848 he ministered for a time to the Free Churchmen of St. John, Rev. Lewis Jack supplying his pulpit. Free Church Record, Dec. 1848. Letter of Rev. Hugh MacLeod (a visitor to the Province) dated St. James, N. B., Oct. 11th, 1848.

3--Free Church Record, Apr. 1853.

above, namely, twelve years ago. They have a neat and comfortable Church which contains 280 and a district school adjacent with a Sunday School and library. There is one Popish Chapel built and another building; an English Church which a very few individuals attend and a Baptist meeting house unoccupied. The Presbyterian minister's residence is near the Church of this Parish and fourteen miles from that of Nelson.

"About fourteen miles further up the river is a schoolhouse at Decantillon's in the Parish of Blissfield; and seven miles above a Free Baptist meeting house in which Presbyterians can have occasional service. The population of this Parish is 528. From the operation of a variety of causes it has been greatly depopulated---brought in by the depression of the lumber trade. Here there is a district and Sabbath School and Library and about twenty Presbyterian families.

"Boiestown, in the Parish of Ludlow with a population of 512 and 30 Presbyterian families still further up the River seventeen miles from the lower station has a building used as a schoolhouse and a place of worship, the only one for all denominations, Baptists, Methodists and Episcopalians generally attend the Presbyterian worship. This is an improving village, formerly reduced and deserted in a great measure by the desolating and demoralizing tendency of lumber pursuits. It was beginning to flourish by the beneficial effects of the Gospel and education, accompanied with the Divine blessing. Here there is a district and Sabbath School, and four miles above there is a preaching station at the Ridge where large apartments of a dwelling-house afford accommodation.

"The communicants of these several parishes amount to nearly a hundred and with many adherents on the Southwest Branch of the Miramichi are worthy of the best efforts of the Free Church. By her assistance, granted for a time, the congregation would be built up and many would arise and call her blessed."

This field remained vacant for years following 1852, and as to Mr. Turnbull, he later returned to New Brunswick to take up
1
work in the field of St. James in Charlotte Co.

Coming now to the work of Rev. Andrew Donald, his field,
Rev. Andrew Donald, like so many other of the New
Norton, Hammond Brunswick fields at this time,
River and Saltsprings was also a very difficult and
scattered one. A brief yet comprehensive account of his work
and of his field is contained in the Free Church Record of
May, 1852, which reads as follows:

1--Free Church Record of Aug. 1854.

"Hampton Ferry, twenty-three miles from St. John and nearest congregation to the North. Mr. A. Donald is minister here and his labours extend over a district forty miles in length and twenty in breadth. In Hampton Ferry he preaches every Sabbath evening. At Hammond River, eight miles from Hampton Ferry, there is a little church where he officiates once in three weeks. About fourteen miles northward is another church at Springfield, situated between two Scotch settlements, where he preaches once in three weeks, the average attendance being about one hundred. Norton is another station which he supplies and at which there is also a church. Also Saltsprings and London-cerry Settlement every third Sabbath, preaching at one or other of them; thus giving each one Sabbath's services in six weeks. 'Within the sphere of my labours,' says Mr. Donald, 'probably many or half of the entire population are descendants of the loyalist refugees who settled here towards the end of last century.'"

For thirty and more years Mr. Donald continued his labours as minister of this widely scattered field and as the years went by he came to be known as 'father of the St. John Presbytery.'¹ Rev. George C. Pidgeon, first Moderator of the United Church of Canada, pays to the memory of Mr. Donald the following brief yet worthy tribute:²

"When I was in New Brunswick as a missionary in 1890 I met everywhere stories of an old minister named Donald who had laboured in southern New Brunswick in its early days. In all seasons he carried to them the word of life. They used to tell me that in winter he would drive his horses until the roads became too cruelly heavy to drive them any longer, then he would put them up and go on foot visiting the people, preaching wherever he could get them together and, withal, living a life of such saintliness that his very presence brought a sense of God.

The cause of the "Free Church" in New Brunswick grew steadily and rapidly. Rev. John Irvine³ (referred to in the account of the Fredericton meeting of Presbytery), as Province missionary rendered invaluable service to his Church. His labours, to use

1--Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1875--1925, by Rev. John T. MacNeill. p. 222.

2--Great Canadian Preaching, edited by Rev. W. Harold Young, p. 189.

3--Jack (p. 109) quotes the Courier of June 7th as follows: "Arrived yesterday per ship Britannia from Liverpool, the Rev. John Irvine, a missionary from the Free Church of Scotland to this Province. He will preach in the Free Church to-morrow afternoon."

his own words, consisted in "preaching the word, visiting the people and endeavouring to organize prayer meetings and Sabbath Schools." From time to time his letters appeared in the Free Church Record and from these it is evident that he must have been a minister indefatigable in his travels and his labours. One letter especially is of great value, it being a description of the destitution in New Brunswick at the time of writing (Sept. 26th, 1846).² "There are no less than thirty settlements," so the letter states, "which require and would be glad to receive some portion of a minister's service." Enlarging upon this statement, the letter makes reference to St. James, where the work has been "well managed by the elders" as having already applied for a Gaelic man. Also the letter states that Salmon River, a comparatively new settlement where there is a church, very creditable to the taste, almost finished, is desirous of a minister; that St. Andrew's and St. Stephen³ and Woodstock all require the half of a minister's services; that New Mills and Point le Num, where the need is great, have already called Rev. Angus MacMaster, and that Springfield, with English Settlement and Sussexvale, have already "sent home a bond to the Colonial Committee for a minister," and that "their claims on Christian sympathy are very strong."

Meanwhile, while Mr. Irvine was rendering such faithful

1--Letter dated Shediac, Jan. 30, 1846. Free Church Record, March, 1846.

2--Free Church Record, Dec. 1846. (Letter written from St. Andrew's.)

3--The letter makes reference to Mr. Stevens as having been the only resident minister in St. Stephen, and that he divided his time (only about a year) with St. James. It is a difficult place, is St. Stephen, (so he continues) requiring time, patience and perseverance.

service as province missionary, other ministers from the Old Land were arriving in New Brunswick and taking up the work of the Free Church. Two particularly must be noted here, ministers from the north of Ireland who arrived ¹ about the same time as Rev. John Irvine; ministers too who were destined to play a long and worthy part in the history of

Rev. James Law, Richibucto, ² of New Brunswick
 Rev. William Millen, Charlotte Co. ³ Presbyterianism: Rev.
 James Law and Rev.

⁴ William Millen. These men settled in fields widely separated from each other, Rev. James Law, the charge of Richibucto in Kent Co., and Rev. William Millen the ~~scattered~~ stations of Bocabec, St. George, Pennfield, Waal Bay and Mascarine ⁵ in Charlotte County.

1--The Chatham Gleaner of June 7th, 1845, quoting from The St. John Courier, reports their arrival as follows: "Arrival of missionaries---The Rev. James Law, A. M. and the Rev. William Millen, both of the Presbytery of Coleraine, missionaries to this Province from the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, arrived in this city this week on the ship Creole from Londonderry. These gentlemen will forthwith proceed to visit the different settlements in the Province with a view to fulfilling the object of their mission.

2--They were both continuing in their respective fields of labour at the time of the Union of the New Brunswick Synod with that of Nova Scotia in 1866.

3--An issue of the Chatham Gleaner about three months later contains an account of Mr. Law's induction into the charge of Richibucto. On this occasion Rev. A. Donald preached from I Cor. 3; 21,22. Rev. John Turnbull and Rev. Robert Irvine also took part in the service.

4--An article in The Presbyterian Witness, June 11th, 1904, by Rev. Frank Baird entitled "New Brunswick Pioneers" contains the following: "Mr. Millen laboured long and faithfully in Charlotte County where others to-day build on the foundations he laid."

5--Free Church Record, May 1852. "The Home and Foreign Record of the Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces of British North America," issue of March, 1867, (p. 60) refers to his field as Didgeguash and L'Etang, while the issue of the next month (p. 96) refers to it as Bocabec and Waewig.

The cause of the Free Church in New Brunswick was further strengthened, late in the year 1847, by the return of Rev. Angus MacMaster from Scotland, who, upon his arrival in the Province,

Rev. Angus MacMaster,
New Mills and Point le Num
took up his work in the field of
New Mills and Point le Num. Writing
a few years later, Mr. MacMaster, in
the May issue of the Free Church Record for 1852, gives a full account of his field and of his work. It reads in part as follows:

"The organization of the congregation consists of ten elders, seven of whom are at New Mills, two at Point le Num (a district adjoining Dalhousie, the county town) and one at Escuminac, Canada East---. On the occasion of our communion, which is in the summer season, the people attend at New Mills from the various stations and extremities, from the west, twenty miles, from the east, twenty miles, extent forty miles. The minister resides at New Mills where the Church is built, and he officiates at New Mills two Sabbaths in three, at Point le Num one Sabbath in three, and at Escuminac, Canada East, occasionally, as the ice and weather permit."

The report goes on to tell of the destitution of ministers in the surrounding districts, not only of the Free Church but also of the Establishment and other denominations. "From Bathurst round the Cape," he states, there is a "large missionary field," which, were it supplied, should be by a minister having the Gaelic language. Also he goes on to say that Sunday Schools have been opened in different parts of the field, that attendance at service (conducted in both English and Gaelic) is "cheerful and regular" and that were the Church at home in a position to help, it could do so by the granting of aid to the support of the minister or by helping to build a Church in Dalhousie which would concentrate the work and which would serve the Point le Num part of the field (there being only a small schoolhouse in that district) and also the western part of the New Mills congregation.

1--"The average amount," so Mr. MacMaster states, "raised for the sustentation of ministers during the four years the congregation has been in existence is 66 pounds, 16 s., 1 d. currency, which is a little over 53 pounds sterling."

For many years Mr. MacMaster continued to labour in the congregation of New Mills and Point le Num,¹ and indeed, even at the time of the union of the Presbyterian Churches in Canada years later (1875)² he was still continuing his ministry in that difficult and scattered charge on the north New Brunswick shore.

Coming now to the city of St. John itself, apart from the Church ministered to by Rev. Robert Irvine (St. John Presbyterian Church) there was organized also, a few years later, another Free Presbyterian Church which later came to be known as St. David's Church. The early history of this church is indeed a varied one. Over two years after the 'Free Church' meeting in St. John in March of 1845, Rev. Robert Burns,³ in July of 1847,⁵ visited this city to seek to give encouragement to the cause of the Free Church. While here "he opened the Mechanic's Institute as a temporary place of worship, and organized the nucleus of the Free Church congregation."⁴ The Colonial Committee of the Scottish Free Church, in its report concerning this visit, remarks that he found in St. John "a most earnest desire for a Free Church."

"Everything bids fair," the report adds, "for a large and in-

1--In the Free Church Records of August, 1860, and of the months following, there are very interesting accounts of a strange, yet apparently very real, revival in this congregation.

2--Croil, December issue of 'The Presbyterian,' p. 294.

3--Formerly secretary of the G. C. S., and brother of Dr. Geo. Burns, first minister of St. Andrew's Church. Dr. R. Burns had come as minister to Knox Church, Toronto, in 1845, and while on this trip to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick his work was taken by his son.

4--Life and Times of Rev. Robert Burns, (p. 222) by his son, Rev. R. F. Burns.

5--Free Church Record, July 1848.

fluent congregation in that place in addition to Mr. Irvine's, already entirely filled. They sent to us for a minister----we made every effort, but, alas, in vain, and after weeks of waiting and correspondence the place rented has had to be abandoned and our fair prospects there are considerably overcast."(1)

And Dr. Burns himself writing makes the following statement, including with it his most earnest appeal on behalf of the cause in St. John:

"The city has 36,000 inhabitants," states Dr. Burns," and multitudes of Scotchmen are wandering as sheep without a shepherd. I found fifteen families eagerly desiring pews in the Free Church as soon as they knew of a faithful pastor having arrived. Scotch Presbyterianism here is a wreck----. Nothing is wanting save a fit man to gather the fragments of a once goodly structure.---May the delusion which binds our ministers to home be dissipated and may our beloved Free Church be saved from its present immanent danger of being shrivelled up into a limited home sect while her glorious Head is scattering the nations at His feet."(2)

The next summer after the visit of Dr. Burns they were again visited, this time by Rev. Alexander Forrester,³ of Paisley, who gives the following report of his visit as showing conditions in St. John at that time:

"I devoted all my time and energies," he states," to the organization of the Free Church congregation of St. John. This congregation suffered greatly from the want of regular ministrations of the ordinances. It has been organized three or four times by deputies of the Free Church as well as Dr. Burns."(4)

However, with all their difficulties and their losses, due to irregular ministrations, Mr. Forrester adds:

"There is still the nucleus of a first rate congregation. The field is one of the finest, if not the finest, in the whole of the Lower Provinces."

Before that year closed, however, they were enjoying regular

1--Free Church Record of July, 1848.

2--Free Church Record of November, 1848.

3--Later, a Free Church minister in Halifax, and a great help to the cause of education in Nova Scotia.

4--Free Church Record of November, 1848. Mr. Forrester's report of his mission to America was read before the Colonial Committee of the Free Church of Scotland, August 5th, 1848.

ministrations, being ministered to, from the beginning of December, 1848, by Rev. John Thomson 'late of Alnwick.'¹ Referring to his work, John Willet, in his paper on "St. John Presbyterianism," states:

"Under his services was commenced the agitation for the building of the new church, which was erected on the present site of St. David's Church, Sydney St. On the 12th April, 1849, the moderator, Rev. Robert Irvine, moderated in a call signed by 203 adherents of the Free Church of Scotland in favor of Rev. John Thomson, M. A. This call was presented to the Presbytery on the 13th of June, 1849, and being accepted, he was inducted on the 16th of August.-----For some time this new church was known as the Fourth Presbyterian Church, but it did not get its present name "Saint David's" until the year 1851. The cornerstone of the new church was laid by the then mayor of St. John, the late Hon. Robert Duncan Wilmot, on the morning of the 16th of August, 1849."(2)

Just a little over a year after the laying of the cornerstone, on Sunday, August 25th, 1850, the new church was opened. The Free Church Record,³ commenting on this opening, says:

"In elegance and commodiousness it is not surpassed by any in the Lower Provinces; and the strenuous efforts of the congregation are said to render it one of the greatest wonders of New Brunswick and to render certain that the whole debt on it will soon be cleared off."

Mr. Thomson remained in the charge of this congregation for a little over two years, when he removed to a charge in the States.⁴ He was succeeded, shortly after, by Rev. William Ferrie,⁵ of Anstruther, Scotland.

Such, briefly, is the story of the organization and the beginning of the Scottish Free Church, St. David's, in St. John.

1--Free Church Record of July, 1849.

2--"Daily Sun," St. John, issue of Dec. 19th, 1903.

3--Record of November, 1850.

4--Free Church Record of September, 1851.

5--Mr. Ferrie was born in 1815 at St. Andrew's, son of Dr. Ferrie, 'minister of Kilconquhar and Professor of Civil History, St. Andrew's ordained 1839.' In 1861 he removed to the "Fourth Associate Presbyterian Church, New York." Ewing's "Annals of the Free Church of Scotland."

Turning now to Charlotte Co., the next year (1849) after Mr. Thomson's coming to St. John, the field of St. Stephen and

Rev. Lewis Jack, St. James was able to obtain as its minister,
 St. Stephen Rev. Lewis Jack, who had shortly before come
 and St. James out from Scotland. The extent of his 'district;
 (according to a report in the Free Church
 Record of May, 1852) was eight miles by three, and his average
 attendance in one part of that field (which part the report does
 not state) was between 200 and 300, out of a population of 600
 people 'entirely of the labouring class.' And Mr. Jack himself,
 writing in the Free Church Record of April of the next year, gives
 an account of his difficulties which, summarized, reads as follows:

I wish you to send a Gaelic-speaking minister to St. James. There are a few in my congregation who derive little or no benefit from the English service, and there are many others who prefer the Gaelic. I tried to resign last year but they wouldn't hear to it. It has been hard to live on here, but were they to get a Gaelic man, I know that they would pay a great deal more than 45 pounds a year. It is one of the largest country congregations in the Province.

In the meantime the congregation of Salmon River, mention of whose desire for a minister has already been made, obtained as
 Rev. Mr. Canning, their first minister, Rev. Mr. Canning from
 Salmon River Ireland. His stay in that congregation,
 however, was very short and there has been
 found little or nothing to record in regard to his brief ministry²
 and the October issue of the Free Church Record for 1852 makes
 reference to his having demitted that charge.

1--Rev. Lewis Jack was born at Culloden in 1815, studied at the Universities of Aberdeen and Edinburgh, was appointed to Nova Scotia in 1848 and removed to New Brunswick in 1849. Ewing's Annals p.192
 2--From same issue: 'Two other localities, Baillie's Settlement, twelve miles distant and St. David's, six miles farther off, are in great need of a minister. At the former a church has been commenced.'
 3--Salmon River--Their first minister, Rev. Mr. Canning from Ireland, did not remain very long.' p. 312, Home and Foreign Record of the Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces, December, 1868.

Looking back over the progress of the Free Church in New Brunswick since its organization meeting in St. John in March of 1845 it will be seen that by the year 1852 the number of its ministers had more than trebled. And, by way of summary, perhaps right here a list of those ministers and their congregations could now be given:¹

Rev. William Ferrie, St. David's Church, St. John.

Rev. Robert Irvine, St. John Presbyterian Church, St. John.
(Revs. Mr. Irvine and Ferrie also gave occasional services to Red-head, Sussexvale, Campbell's Settlement and Reid's Mill.)

Rev. John Irvine, formerly missionary, now minister in Carleton, across the Harbour from St. John. He gave occasional service to Nerepis.

Rev. Andrew Donald, Hammond River, Hampton Ferry, Springfield, Norton, Saltsprings and Londonderry Settlement.

Rev. Lewis Jack, St. Stephen and St. James.

Rev. William Millen, Boc-a-bee, St. George, Pennfield and other neighbouring stations.

Rev. James Law, Richibucto. Occasionally he supplied at Kouchibouguac, Bass River (later a separate field) Nicholas River and Buctouche.

Rev. John Turnbull, Blackville, Upper Nelson, Blissfield and Ludlow.

Rev. Angus MacMaster, New Mills, Point le Num and Escuminac,

¹--From Free Church Record, May 1852. In this report, Salisbury and the Bend of Pedicodiac are mentioned as being promising stations now occasionally supplied.

Canada East.

Rev. Mr. Canning, Salmon River and neighbouring stations.

So also in the years following 1852 the Free Church cause in New Brunswick continued still to grow. And this continued progress in the years that followed was due in no small measure to the opening of a college in connection with that church in Halifax in 1848, and without a brief description of the founding of that college any account of the Free Church cause in the Lower Provinces would be very incomplete indeed. As early as 1846, but two years after the Disruption in Nova Scotia and but a Free Church year after the formation of the Free Church Synod in New Brunswick, the Synod of Nova Scotia College, Halifax resolved that measures should "be adopted for forming a theological institution for the lower colonies, including New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and Cape Breton." ¹ In the carrying out of these plans, in addition to their own very successful efforts, the Colonial Committee of the Free Church in Scotland rendered them "invaluable aid." ² In the same year in which the colonial Synod decided to establish a training school, the Educational Committee of the Free Church of Scotland, acting on the recommendation of Rev. Patrick Miller, made the following recommendation to the Assembly:

"----Considering the affecting destitution in these (Lower) Provinces, and the utter inability of the Free Church, in her present circumstances, to provide an adequate supply for their wants from home, your committee are disposed to entertain this pro-

1--Letter of Rev. John Stewart, New Glasgow, in Free Church Record of March, 1847. The letter also states that there are a number of young men offering themselves for ordination, four of them being from New Brunswick.

2--The Presbyterian Witness, April 30th, 1904.

posal (for a college) favourably, and will be ready, with the sanction of the Assembly, to correspond and co-operate with the Presbyteries of these Provinces in regard to the means by which it may be carried into effect." (1)

But not only by the passing of resolutions, but rather in a most practical way, did the Scottish Church show its interest in the rising college, for generously indeed, they agreed to pay the salaries of two professors for four years.

In November, 1848, the college was opened. Also about the same time an Academy was started to serve as a preparatory school for the college. The Colonial Committee reporting the next year, in regard to the starting of these training schools, states:

"What peculiarly marks our progress in the Lower Colonies this year is the opening of the new College at Halifax. This was an object which lay near our hearts and which we felt absolutely needful to be carried out if we would either now or in the future provide permanent supply for the Lower Colonies.

"Mr. King (Rev. Andrew King) late of St. Stephen's, Glasgow, has accepted the office of Professor of Theology, and we feel sure that the church will unite with the committee in rejoicing that this important institution is under the charge of one who had the honour of opening the new thriving college at Toronto and who is, in every way, so well qualified to begin and carry forward a similar institution at Halifax. Mr. M'Kenzie (Rev. John C. M'Kenzie), peculiarly fitted for the work, has undertaken the charge of the students in the classical and philosophical department, and Mr. Neil M'Kay, late teacher at Thurso and greatly distinguished both as a teacher and a student, has lately proceeded to Halifax to

1--Free Church Record, July, 1846. This report, of interest as showing the stress laid by the Mother Church on a natively trained ministry, continues: Your committee are deeply impressed with the conviction that instead of looking to Scotland as the nursery ground whence they are to receive a continuous supply of ministers, the brethren in the colonies should have local nurseries of their own; and that wherever a branch of the True Church exists it should, in the eloquent language of another, be 'like the Indian tree which not only grows up in stateliness and beauty but throws out its roots on all sides, and from these roots, fresh trunks --- each to become a great tree itself, each to send forth new roots and these roots new trunks and trees until the whole surface of the earth is covered.' Under this impression your committee are anxious, while they seek ((continued on foot of next page))

2--Gregg's History of the Presbyterian Church to 1892, p. 91. In this regard The Presbyterian Witness of November 7th, 1891, states: "The Colonial Committee of the Free Church of Scotland generously offered to maintain for four years a theological hall at Halifax."

See article on "The Presbyterian College, Halifax," by Prof. Currie, page 355.

carry on the Academy which, we hope, will be a nursery for the college, and will furnish it in a short time with an abundant supply of students thoroughly instructed in the preliminary branches.

"Mr. M'Kenzie took charge of those (students) who required instruction in languages and Philosophy. Mr. King relieved him of those studying Moral Philosophy and taught his own classes of Divinity also. Mr. Forrester kindly gave occasional lectures on natural science and Mr. Honeyman, who went out last year, though not connected with the college, conducted the Hebrew classes with great success." (1)

The number of students attending the college in its first² year was fifteen, three of whom were in Theology. By the next session the number of students had increased to nineteen, seven of whom were in Theology. It was during this session that the little college suffered a severe loss in the death of Professor M'Kenzie, and Rev. W. Lyall of Toronto was appointed to the vacant chair. By that year (session of 185³0--51) the number of students had increased to twenty-two.²

In 1851 Rev. John Stewart, at the request of the Synod, visited Scotland for help for the little college, and again the "Scottish friends gave a hearty response, for Mr. Stewart returned with about 1200 pounds besides many valuable books for the library."²

Such is the story of the founding of the Free Church College in Halifax and of the contribution of the Scottish Free Church towards it. And in the years that followed that college continued to (from previous page)--to meet pressing wants by occasional and extraordinary exertions, to direct their operations more and more to the establishment of a system that will be both more effective and more permanent--which will not depend so much on impulse and random efforts but be carried on with the regularity of a well-adjusted mechanism; and there seems to be no more likely means of accomplishing this end than the institution of seminaries in the Colonies themselves for raising a seed to serve God in His Church."

1--Free Church Record of July, 1849.
 2--P. 355, The Presbyterian Witness, Nov. 7th, 1891.
 3--In the June Free Church Record for 1850, the first report of the college credits the several Free Church Presbyteries with the following sums: Halifax, L. 162, 18s, 7d; Pictou, L. 206, 6s, 8d; Cape Breton, L. 230, 10s, 4½d; New Brunswick, L. 115, 17s, 1d.

carry on, taking in and training the men of the Lower Provinces, then sending them forth again to carry on and to extend the work of the Free Church, helping to make it what it was, a living and a growing Church.

II.

The Church of Scotland.

Shortly after the Disruption in New Brunswick had taken place the Established Church in Scotland sent out deputations to visit the churches in British North America, which visits were the great event in the history of the Established Church in New Brunswick in the years immediately following the cleavage in her ranks. The first of these deputations, the 1845 deputation, consisted of Rev. Dr. Simpson of Kirknewton, Rev. Dr. John MacLeod of Morven and Rev. Norman MacLeod of Dalkeith (later of the Bariohy), and "the general object of the mission was to testify, in a language more marked and expressive than had hitherto been found practicable, the cordial sympathy and Christian concern with which the Church at home regarded her children in these distant colonies, and to gather at the same time, and on the spot, such information as might enable

Note. The Academy in Halifax, referred to in connection with the College, continued as an unsectarian school and carried on as such for years, receiving, beginning with 1853, an annual provincial grant of 250 pounds. Plans were also made for opening a similar Academy in St. John but they never materialized.

her to carry most advantageously into effect her desire and purpose to aid by every means in her power in supplying and maintaining among them in the land of their adoption that provision of religious ordinances which formed their most valuable and highly prized possession in the land of their fathers.¹

The deputation arrived in New Brunswick, landing at Chatham, on Saturday, the 26th of July, having come by the steamer St. George² from Charlottetown. "They were immediately
 Visit of the
 1845 deputation
 to New Brunswick
 waited upon by the minister (Rev. John Macbean),
 elders, trustees and a number of gentlemen
 members from St. Andrew's Church, Chatham,
 by whom they were conducted to the manse where arrangements were made with regard to the movements of the deputation at this place. On the following day Mr. MacLeod and Dr. Simpson preached forenoon and afternoon respectively in St. Andrew's Church, Chatham and St. James' Church, Newcastle; thus alternating their services between these two churches. The Rev. Dr. MacLeod officiated on the same day, both in Gaelic and English, in Black River Church."³

The next day, in the Royal Hotel, Chatham, "the members of the deputation were entertained at a public breakfast, Dr. Kay⁴ of Chatham in the chair, at which upwards of 70 gentlemen were present." Also that day they were presented with addresses of welcome and of greeting from the congregations in Chatham and Newcastle. Then on

1--Missionary Record of Sept. 1846. (In the Halifax Guardian of June 27th, 1845, it is stated that "in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in Edinburgh on the 23rd of May, 1845, Rev. James Souter formerly of Newcastle, NB, urged a deputation for British North America.)

2--Missionary Records, issues of Oct. 1845 and Sept. 1846.

3--Missionary Record, October 1845. Dr. Simpson also that Sunday afternoon addressed the Sunday School in Chatham which was under the direction of Mr. and Mrs. Millar.

4--Record of Sept. 1845.

Tuesday, July 29th, they separated and Dr. Simpson, accompanied by Mr. Alex'r Rankine proceeded down the river to hold services at Burnt Church and Tabusintac, while 'The MacLeods' started north to visit the congregations of Bathurst and the Restigouche. Misfortune, however, attended these latter, for somewhere in the vicinity of Bathurst the carriage in which Dr. MacLeod was travelling upset and he was quite badly hurt. Under the circumstances, therefore the visit to the more northerly congregations was cancelled and while Dr. MacLeod was laid up for a day or two in Bathurst, Rev. Norman MacLeod conducted service in that place.¹ By the latter part of the week, the Doctor being now much improved and able to travel, they returned to the Miramichi and on Saturday, August 2nd, Rev. Norman MacLeod, accompanied by Mr. Rankine, journeyed south to Richibucto. There he preached the following day, and on Monday a meeting was held at which he delivered an address telling of the purpose of the deputation's visit to the Colonies.²

In the meantime, on Thursday, July 31st, Dr. Simpson, having returned from his visit to Burnt Church and Tabusintac, and accompanied now by Rev. John Macbean of Chatham, set out for Fredericton, preaching on the way at 'Doaks.' They reached their destination on Saturday afternoon (August 2nd) and their welcome in that capital city of the Province and a description of the conditions in the Church of Scotland there are fully described in the Missionary Record of September, 1846. The account reads as follows:

"At Fredericton they were cordially received and found strong attachment manifested to the Church of Scotland. The Church here is a handsome place of worship and is well attended. The minister, Mr. Brooke, was absent at this time on a visit to his former charge on the Bay of Chaleur. Divine service was performed three times

1--Record of Sept. 1846.

2--Record of Oct. 1845. Mr. Rankine, M.P.P. is in this issue described as a "most zealous, intelligent and kind friend."

on the Sabbath, twice by Dr. Simpson and once by Mr. Macbean. A public meeting was held and full explanations given in the usual manner. An address was also received (this on Monday) couched in the most friendly and encouraging terms. (1)

"Great interest was here manifested in the objects of the General Assembly's mission and the utmost zeal to co-operate in promoting them and every mark of personal attention and courtesy was tendered to the visitors. By the kindness of one of the many individuals actuated by these feelings and who is connected with the government office there was furnished the following list of the lands granted by the Government of New Brunswick to the Churches there in connection with the Church of Scotland showing the amount of the several grants, the churches to which they are given, and the year in which the grants were made.(2)

From Fredericton Dr. Simpson proceeded to St. John where,
on Friday, the 8th of August,³ he was joined by the other members of the deputation, who, having left the Miramichi on the morning of the 5th,⁴ journeyed from there to Fredericton where they held a service, Mr. MacLeod preaching,⁵ then continued their journey to St. John. There "public worship was performed" by them in both St. Andrew's and St. Stephen's Churches,⁶ from both of which also addresses were received. And with their visit to St. John, having⁷ regretfully been unable to continue on to Charlotte County, their mission to New Brunswick ended and from there they proceeded on their way to the Canadas.

There is but little to record between the time of the visit of the first deputation in 1845 and that of the second in 1847. Mr.

1--The address was signed by John Macbeath and Andrew Inches, Elders and T. R. Robertson, Chairman of the Board of Trustees. Record of November, 1845.

2--The list of grants (for which see Appendix III) is given as being of interest in showing the help rendered the Church of Scotland by the New Brunswick government.

3--Record of Sept. 1846.

4--Record of October, 1845.

5--Record of Sept. 1846.

6--Record of September, 1846.

7--Record of Sept. 1846.

Halket of St. Andrew's Church, St. John, had, in the meantime returned to Scotland; and Rev. Dempster Wallace had arrived in the Province from Scotland and on July 1st of that year in Campbellton was ordained as Presbytery missionary.¹

The second deputation arrived in New Brunswick, also at Chatham, in the latter part of July, 1847. It consisted of Rev. J. G. Fowler of Ratho, Rev. Robert Stevenson of Dalry, Ayrshire, and Rev. Simon McIntosh of Aberdeen. The purpose of this deputation, as

1--As Mr. Wallace's ordination and the services that followed it are fully described in the Missionary Record of September, 1847, the account is here given as being of interest.

'Presbytery of Miramichi.'

'We understand that the Presbytery of Miramichi, at their last meeting held at Campbellton, Restigouche, on Thursday, the 1st of July, ordained the Rev. Dempster Wallace, Preacher of the Gospel, authorizing him to perform all the offices of the sacred ministry as missionary within the bounds of the Presbytery of Miramichi. Mr. Wallace had previously delivered his usual discourses before the Presbytery, namely, a homily, an exegesis in Latin on the Divinity of the Holy Spirit, a critical discourse on a portion of the Greek New Testament, a lecture and a sermon. He was also examined in a portion of the Hebrew Bible and Greek New Testament and in Church History and Divinity; which exercises the Presbytery considered highly creditable to Mr. Wallace. The Rev. William Henderson, A. M. preached a very suitable and impressive discourse on the occasion to a crowded and most attentive audience; after which the usual questions were put to Mr. Wallace and satisfactory answers being returned, he was, by prayer and the laying on of hands, set apart to the sacred office of the ministry. Rev. Mr. Henderson then addressed Mr. Wallace on the duties of the sacred office and the encouragement presented in the Gospel to perseverance in their faithful discharge. He then addressed the congregation on their duties in reference to the sacred ministry.

'On the Sabbath following the Sacrament was dispensed in the same place and though the day was rather unfavourable, the Church was crowded from beginning to end of the protracted services, scarcely any of the congregation leaving the Church till the close so that the Church seemed as much crowded at the end as at the commencement. One hundred and fifty-one communicants seated themselves at the table of the Lord and partook of the sacred elements. The services during the whole of the day were of a highly interesting character and we trust will leave an impression in the minds, not only of the communicants but of all who listened to them which will not soon pass away.'

given in the Missionary Record of August, 1847, was as follows:

"---To strengthen the hands and encourage the hearts of the ministers and congregations, to ascertain as minutely as possible the spiritual destitution existing throughout the Provinces and to dispense religious ordinances as often as practicable, particularly in those quarters where such services are most required." Also they were to obtain authentic information as to the means of education in the Colonies.

Coming now to an account of the deputation's visit to New Brunswick, we find in the Records that a correspondent writing from Chatham under date of August 4th gives the following detailed account of its visit in that district:

"The Rev. J. C. Fowler and the Rev. Simon McIntosh, two of the deputation from our venerable parent Church, arrived at Chatham on the morning of the Lord's Day the 25th ult. at 2 o'clock. Although wearied out by the extreme warmth of the weather and the want of sleep for the two preceding nights, they soon commenced their labours; the Rev. Mr. Fowler accompanied by Hon. Alex'r Rankine having proceeded at an early hour to St. James' Church, Newcastle, via Douglastown, where I understand he delivered a splendid discourse to a large and delighted audience whilst his companion remained in Chatham. By 6 o'clock the Rev. J.C. Macbean, the friend in early life and college companion of Rev. Mr. McIntosh waited upon the deputation at the Royal Hotel, Chatham, from which he and his revered friend proceeded soon after to the manse.

"At the usual hour in the morning and at half past three in the afternoon the Rev. Mr. McIntosh preached deeply impressive discourses in St. Andrew's Church, and afterwards delivered a beautifully simple and affecting address to the children of the Sabbath School. On Monday forenoon a public meeting was convened in St. Andrew's Church at 11 o'clock at which the two reverend gentlemen of the deputation and the Rev. W. Henderson of Newcastle were present. The Rev. Mr. Macbean, having been called upon to preside, assumed the chair and having described in neat and appropriate language the object of the meeting, introduced the two reverend gentlemen of the deputation." Then followed the presentation to said members of an address from minister, elders and trustees of St. Andrew's Church, after which Mr. McIntosh replied in a shining speech. (3)

1--Part of the report of the first deputation to the General Assembly (May 29th, 1846) reads, "There is in this district (Miramichi) great want of ministers and the importance of a supply at the earliest opportunity was strongly urged." (Record of Sept. 1846)

2--Record of August, 1847.

3--Record of Oct. 1847.

"On Tuesday, the 27th ult. the Rev. Mr. Stevenson (the third member of the deputation) arrived at Chatham and since his arrival he has been most actively engaged in visiting the neighbouring settlements. He preached at Red Bank, North West, on Friday last; at Burnt Church on Saturday, at Tabusintac on Sunday, at Euctouche and Richibucto yesterday (Tuesday), to-day at Hovenacouguac, and to-morrow, if well, the reverend gentleman will preach in St. Andrew's Church, Chatham.

In the meantime, returning to the other part of the deputation, we read that "on Wednesday, the 28th of July, Rev. Messrs McIntosh and Fowler set off for Restigouche," intending to go "as far as Bathurst that night to preach there Thursday forenoon," then to go on to Belle Doune for a service in the afternoon.² From this point in the story the Record again proceeds to give us a detailed account of their journeyings in the northern district, which account reads as follows:³

"The Messrs Fowler and McIntosh, being expected to arrive at Belle Doune on Thursday, the 29th, the Rev. James Steven and Rev. D. Wallace, missionary, and Adam Ferguson, Esq., hastened to meet them there. According to previous arrangement, on the following morning (Friday, the 30th), the Rev. Mr. Fowler in company with the Rev. D. Wallace crossed the Bay to New Richmond in the district of Gaspé. Mr. McIntosh, accompanied by Mr. Steven, proceeded to New Mills where he was to preach at 11 o'clock. Here he delivered a discourse in English, another in Gaelic and dispensed the sacrament of baptism in the same language, all of which services seemed to afford the highest delight and spiritual comfort to the minds of the audience, who have not been favoured for some time by hearing the words of eternal truth addressed to them in their vernacular tongue!

"Immediately after divine service Mr. McIntosh proceeded onwards to Dalhousie and was met some miles from town by the Hon. J. Montgomery, D. Stewart, P. Stewart and J. McKedie, Esqrs. Soon after his arrival he met a large congregation in church and received and answered an address.

"On Saturday morning the 31st, W. Hamilton, Esq., drove him to Campbellton, accompanied by Robert Ferguson, Esq. of Athol House, Messrs J. Duncan and Robert Adams, elders, and John Fraser, Esq., of Cross Point, who came to meet him at Dalhousie. In the afternoon a meeting was held in the Church at Campbellton and he received and answered an address there. He preached on Sabbath forenoon to a large congregation a most eloquent discourse, and

1--On this day, according to a Newcastle correspondent in the Oct. Record for 1847, the deputation received an address from the minister and office-bearers of St. James' Church, Newcastle.

2--Record of October, 1847.

3--Record of November, 1847.

delivered an address on the present state and prospects of the Church. Having returned to Dalhousie, Mr. McIntosh preached to a full congregation, two sermons, one in English and the other in Gaelic and gave an address in each. On Monday morning (August 2nd) he left on his journey to the southward."

On his way to Bathurst he was joined by Mr. Fowler who had just returned from New Richmond and both were delighted with "the assurance of sincere attachment to the Church of Scotland they had received from the congregations assembled in places visited by them."

Following their visit to the Miramichi, the members of the Deputation journeyed to Fredericton where they arrived on Friday, August 6th.¹ "Messrs Fowler and McIntosh proceeded thence on the following morning on the way to St. John while Mr. Stevenson remained for the purpose of conducting divine service in St. Paul's Church on the following Sabbath,"² which service, having been held, Mr. Stevenson explained the purpose of the deputation and told of the recovery of the Church since 1843. The following day he was presented with an address of welcome and appreciation, and with a request too for more men to supply the needy fields of New Brunswick.¹

As to conditions in the city of St. John at the time of its visit the deputation reported as finding in that city "two congregations, both of them vacant----quite able and willing to furnish ample stipends to faithful pious ministers."² St. Andrew's Church, so they reported "has set an example of munificence indicative both of sincere attachment to the Church and of the value put by it upon religious ordinances" in that they have offered a stipend of 500 pounds a year to the minister who will take charge of them. And as to St. Stephen's congregation, they also "stand fast by

1--Record of November, 1847.

2--Record of August, 1848.

the Church, notwithstanding peculiar trials to which they have been exposed, and their case has also been recommended to the Committee!"¹

Coming now to Charlotte County, whither the deputation went following their visit to St. John, the St. Andrew's Standard, issue of August 18th,² gives the following detailed account of their visit in that district:

"The gentlemen composing the deputation from the Church of Scotland," so the article reads," arrived in this town on Wednesday, (August 11th) from St. John. The Rev. R. Stevenson proceeded to St. George on Friday morning and delivered an able and impressive discourse in the evening to a large and attentive audience and³ returned next morning to St. John where he preached on Sunday last. On Friday evening the Rev. Mr. McIntosh preached an eloquent discourse in the Scotch Church in this town. On Saturday he went to St. Stephen and early on Sunday morning proceeded to St. James where he preached a most impressive sermon in Gaelic to a crowded audience. At the close of the service he explained the object of the deputation's visit and upon leaving the Church was greeted with a most affectionate and hearty welcome by his hearers. In the afternoon he returned to St. Stephen and delivered an excellent discourse in the Methodist Chapel to a very large congregation.

"On Sabbath morning last the Rev. J. C. Fowler addressed the Sabbath School children (of Greenoch Church) in most affecting and beautifully simple language. At 11 o'clock he delivered a powerful and impressive discourse from Matthew xxviii, verse 6. At the close of the service he explained briefly and earnestly the object of the mission to these colonies. Their mission (he said) was one of peace and goodwill. In the afternoon the reverend gentleman went to Whittier's Ridge Church. He was met by the Rev. John Cassilis, and, after sermon, explained the objects of the mission to the colonies.

"The two reverend gentlemen, accompanied by the Rev. John Ross, left here for Eastport on Tuesday morning where they will be joined by the Rev. Mr. Stevenson and take passage in the steamer for Boston and proceed direct to Montreal."

So ended the visit of the second deputation to New Brunswick. And in their report to the Home Church, even as the deputation before them, they stressed the almost unbelievable destitution of the means of grace existing in the Colonies, stressed too, the lack of the means of education, there being in many places

1--Record of August, 1848. Re St. Stephen's Church see page 116.

2--Copied into Record of October, 1847.

3--In St. John he preached in both St. Andrew's and St. Stephen's Churches.

no day schools at all. Of Sunday Schools however there was a goodly¹ number, many of them being conducted by the ministers themselves.

Coming now to a brief study of the days following the visit of the deputation and until the middle of the century, we find that despite the most fervent efforts of the Colonial Committee of the Church of Scotland, the destitution of ministers in New Brunswick, so deplored by the deputations in their reports to the Home Church, still continued to exist. True, during those years there were some able and devoted ministers who came out and took up their work in the Province, but, for every new arrival some other minister, perhaps in another part of the Province, would resign his charge and remove to other parts or would possibly return to Scotland.

The first name in the list of the "new arrivals" just referred to is that of Rev. William Stewart. He was born in Glasgow, educated

Rev. William at the University there, was appointed by
Stewart, Chatham the Colonial Committee to New Brunswick
and on March 22nd, 1848, was ordained as²
missionary to the Presbytery of St. John. In this capacity he³
laboured "zealously and usefully" for some time. For a time also he⁴
officiated as minister in St. Andrew's Church, St. John, and finally
on the 1st of March, 1849, he was inducted to the charge of St.
Andrew's Church in Chatham,⁵ rendered vacant by the removal of Rev.
John Macbean to Prince Edward Island. "Here he ministered with

1--The January issue of the Missionary Record for 1848 tells of a meeting in the Music Hall, Edinburgh, to receive and hear the deputation. Their report is to be found in the issue of August, 1848.

2--Fasti, VII, 611, 652.

3--Missionary Record, July, 1848.

4--Jack, 125.

5--Croil, Presbyterian, 1875, p. 294.

The Colonial Committee reported to the General Assembly (See Record of July, 1849) that 'Mr. Stewart's services as a missionary were highly appreciated' and that they had no doubt that he would 'prove a faithful and acceptable minister' in the charge of Chatham.

much acceptance for ten years. He was a diligent labourer and although his agreement with the Colonial Committee entitled him to receive 100 pounds per annum for five years, with the exception of 50 pounds for outfit, he neither asked nor received any supplement from that quarter. So rare an example of self-denial is worthy of being recorded."¹

In the same year that Rev. Mr. Stewart entered upon his ministry in Chatham, Rev. William Donald arrived in St. John to become the minister of St. Andrew's Church in that city. Mr. Donald was born at Edin-
 Rev. William Donald, St. Andrew's Church, St. John
 come the minister of St. Andrew's Church
 in that city. Mr. Donald was born at Edin-
 gight, Grange, Banffshire, June 6th, 1807
 and received his education at Marischal
 College in Aberdeen.² He was induced into his new charge in St. John on the 10th of July, 1849, Rev. John Ross of St. Andrew's presiding and with him Revs. John M. Brooke and John Cassilis.³
 Mr. Donald's ministry in St. Andrew's Church continued over the long period of over twenty years, during which time "he was universally beloved and respected," his public ministrations being "earnest and powerful and his influence a tower of strength among the scattered and struggling Churches of New Brunswick."⁴

In that same year also (1849) Rev. John Hunter, who the year before had received his appointment from the Colonial Committee of
 Rev. John Hunter, the Church of Scotland, became
 Richmond and Woodstock the minister of the charge of
 Richmond and Woodstock.⁵ Mr. Hunter's field was a most scattered

1--Croil, The Presbyterian, 1875, p. 294.

2--Fasti, VII, p. 609, also Jack, p. 118.

3--Jack, p. 126.

4--Croil, The Presbyterian, 1875, p. 286. D. R. Jack in his "History of St. Andrew's Church," Chapter X, deals at some length with the ministry of Mr. Donald.

5--Croil, The Presbyterian, 1875, p. 289.

one and, reporting to the Presbytery of St. John meeting in Fredericton on the 8th of August, 1851,¹ he tells of requests for his services coming from settlements 35, 45 and 50 miles distant from the place of his residence.² In this same report too he requests the continuing of his grant from the Colonial Committee, tells too of the progress that is being made in his field, tells of 300 pounds currency having been raised in the Pokiok and Lake George settlements³ towards the building of a church, tells of the completion of the church in Woodstock,⁴ and that free of debt, tells too of the plans being made for the enlarging of the Church in Richmond. The "diligence" of Mr. Hunter in his extended field the Presbytery highly approved.

The year following Mr. Hunter's coming to Richmond and Woodstock was a difficult year for the New Brunswick Synod of the Church of Scotland. Mr. Wallace,⁵ having completed his term of three years, returned to Scotland, Mr. Cassilis of St. Patrick's passed away during that summer with no immediate successor and although in the following year Rev. John Davidson of the Presbytery of Montreal, on the first of November, accepted a call to the long vacant charge of New Richmond,⁶ nevertheless just about the time of his accepting of that call, Rev. George MacDonnell of Bathurst resigned his charge and returned again to Scotland.⁷

1--Missionary Record, Dec. 1851.

2--Williamstown, Greenfield and Buttermilk Creek are the places here referred to.

3--These places were 44 miles in the opposite direction from above

4--See also re Rev. J.M. Brooke, Fredericton, p. 28. places.

5--The Oct. Record of 1847 describes him as labouring as a missionary in the district of Miramichi with much acceptance. This, the report of the 1847 deputation excepted, is the only reference we have to Mr. Wallace.

6--Croil, The Presbyterian, 1875, p. 290.

7--Shortly later he returned to Ontario. In November, 1852, Rev. James Murray succeeded him in Bathurst. Croil, p. 292.

Such then is the history of the Synod of New Brunswick in connection with the Church of Scotland in the years shortly following the Disruption. And before going further, even as in the case of the Free Church, it might prove interesting by way of summary to include here a list of the ministers of the Church of Scotland¹ and their congregations as it was in the beginning of 1852.

Rev. James Steven, Nampbellton.

Rev. J. M. Brooke, Fredericton.

Rev. William Henderson, Newcastle.

Rev. John Ross, St. Andrew's.

Rev. William Stewart, Chatham.

Rev. W. Donald, St. Andrew's Church, St. John.

Rev. John Hunter, Richmond and Woodstock.

Rev. John Davidson, New Richmond.

Looking back over the list of the Church of Scotland ministers in New Brunswick in the years just following the disruption it will be seen that their numbers during those years did not increase but rather remained about the same. Also in the years that followed that again there was but little if any increase in their numbers. And if one thing more than another can be said to have contributed to this dearth of ministers it was that that Church had no training school of its own in the Maritimes for the educating of its students. Those students therefore of the Church of Scotland who desired to enter the ministry were sent for the most part either to Scotland or perhaps to Kingston for their training. But on the whole it was not a very satisfactory method. In so many cases the

¹--The names are given here in the order of their arrival in the Province.

students never came back¹ and the cause of the Church of Scotland in the Lower Provinces of British North America was the loser thereby

Yet it was not as if that Church had made no efforts towards the securing of a training school for its ministers. Indeed a number of years even before the Disruption, the Synod, at its meeting in January, 1838, presented a petition to the government praying that such alterations be made in the charter of King's College, Fredericton, as would remove its restrictive clauses and make it such that Presbyterians as well as Anglicans could receive their theological education in that institution.² Again two years later Mr. Souter, writing to the Home Church, states that he and Mr. Birkmyre are to present the case to the Legislature.³ Apparently however the efforts of the Church of Scotland in this direction accomplished but little and it would seem that the matter was dropped for a time. Later however following the Disruption it appears to have been revived again and the Missionary Record of the Church of Scotland for August, 1846, in this connection, contains the following:

"The Colonial Committee have had an important communication laid before them from the Synod of New Brunswick requesting the desirableness of endowing a theological chair in connection with the Church in the college of Fredericton. The committee," so the reference concludes, "will give every attention to this proposal."

But again no progress was made. Still the students had to go

1--"For nearly thirty years young men were sent from New Brunswick and Nova Scotia to Scotland and Canada to be trained there. But of thirty or forty the country has now (1877) only three or four." From an article on the History of the Presbyterian College, Halifax, in The Presbyterian Witness of November 7, 1891. (page 355)

2--Edinburgh Christian Instructor, issue of July, 1838, page 347.

Here also reference is made to the students having to go abroad.

3--Letter dated April 6, 1840 in Missionary Record of July, 1840.

abroad. And almost thirty years more were to pass ere the Church of Scotland, by co-operating with the "Synod of the sister Church in the Lower Provinces"¹ was able to have its ministers trained at home. That however brings us almost to the time of the union of the Presbyterian Churches in Canada, to which further reference will be made in the concluding chapter.

In this chapter there has been taken up the story of the Church of Scotland and of the 'Free Church' in New Brunswick, of the contribution to those Churches of the Home Church in Scotland; the story also of their ministers, their congregations and their educational endeavours in the years shortly following the Disruption. The concluding chapter, in briefest outline, will tell the story of those Churches until their coming together again in the union of 1875.

1--Gregg's Short History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, page 80. Although, following the union of 1875 the Colonial Committee of the Church of Scotland was "under no special obligation to support the college," nevertheless, Rev. Allan Pollok having been appointed to the Chair of Church History in the Theological Hall, Halifax, (1874), most generously, they maintained him in that chair for about six years. Presbyterian Witness, April 30th, 1904.

CHAPTER X.

CONCLUSION.

'The Free Church.

From the middle of the 19th century on the cause of the Free Church in New Brunswick grew steadily. True, unlike the Church of Scotland, both the Scottish and the Irish Church contributed to that growth, but nevertheless and with all that it seemed to possess some power within itself that gave it growing power and strength. Perhaps it was just that it had so soon to learn to rely more upon its own efforts, more upon the sacrifice of its own ministers, more upon the generosity of its own members, that made it a living and a self-reliant Church. And with what faithfulness its ministers stayed by it! By the year 1854 that which until then had been but a Presbytery resolved itself into a Synod bearing the name of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of New Brunswick. Twelve years later, on the 2nd of July, 1866, in St. David's Church, St. John, it united with the Synod of the Lower Provinces¹ to form the Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces of British North America. By that time its numbers had increased to eighteen²; about a third of whom were from the Free Church of Scotland, a third from the Presbyterian Church of Ireland and the remaining third, ministers who had been trained in

1--This Synod was formed by the union in 1860 of the (Secession) Synod of Nova Scotia with that of the Free Church of Nova Scotia.
 2--Gregg's Short History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada to 1892, page 104.

the Divinity Hall, Halifax.

As the years passed this Church steadily worked its way through to independence and self-support. By the year 1872 it was able to report that its grant from the Free Church of Scotland had come to an end.¹ Three years later it joined in the larger union with the Church of Scotland and its history from 1875 on is to be found in the history of the "Presbyterian Church in Canada."²

1--In the issue of August, 1872, of "The Home and Foreign Record of the Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces of British North America" there is to be found the following: "In the receipts for 1871--72 were included a grant of 500 dollars from the Free Church of Scotland which has now come to an end." In this connection it would be interesting to give here the amounts of the actual grants given to the New Brunswick Synod by the Free Church of Scotland in the ten years prior to the Union of 1866. They are taken from the Free Church Records. Record of 1857, L. 187, 10s.; 1858, L. 410; 1859, L. 470; 1860, L. 413; 1861, L. 241; 1862, L. 418, 1s.; 1863, L. 470; 1864, L. 75; 1865, L. 280; 1866, L. 170. Before the year 1857 it is difficult to know the amounts of the grants as they are not regularly given in the Records. The great differences in the grants, sometimes from year to year as seen in the above statistics, is largely accounted for by the fact that in some years there were the salaries of missionaries to be paid.

2--"The Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1875 -- 1925," by Rev. John T. McNeill, also "Short History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada to 1892," by William Gregg.

The Church of Scotland.

From the middle of the century on to the union of 1875 the Church of Scotland in Scotland, even as in the years before, continued to give most faithfully of her missionaries and of her means to her daughter Church in the colony.¹ In the summer of 1852 there was sent out the third deputation consisting of Rev. Mr. Sutherland of Dingwall and the Rev. Dr. William Ritchie of Longforgan.² Both of these ministers visited in New Brunswick, the former principally in the district of Miramichi, the latter in and about St. John. And in their report to the Home Church, even as the deputations before them, they stressed the dire destitution and the urgent need of ministers not only in New Brunswick but in the other Provinces of British North America as well. And still the Home Church continued its endeavours to get ministers and missionaries for the destitute colonial fields. But for every one that went out someone else returned and the Church as a whole was little helped.

In the year 1868 the Church of Scotland Synod of New Brunswick united with that of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island to form the Synod of the Lower Provinces in connection with the Church of Scotland. The union was consummated at Pictou on the

1--The Missionary Records from this time on until after the union of 1868, usually in the July issue, give a report of the amount granted in the previous year to the different ministers and churches in the Colonies. As to New Brunswick the amounts as given in the various Records total as follows: Record of 1850, L. 350; 1851, L. 225; 1852, L. 300, 10 s.; 1853, L. 175; 1854, L. 195; 1855, L. 175; 1856, L. 300; 1857, L. 480, 16s, 8 d.; 1858, L. 530, 12 s., 3 d.; 1859, L. 563, 13 s., 10 d.; 1860, L. 446, 17 s., 9 d.; 1861, L. 561, 14 s.; 1862, L. 571, 11 s., 2 d.; 1863, L. 572, 8 s., 10 d.; 1864, L. 523, 2 s., 4 d.; 1865, L. 372, 4 s., 8 d.; 1866, L. 435; 1867, L. 393, 18 s.; 1868, L. 434, 3s, 4 d.; 1869, L. 377, 5 s., 6 d.

2--Record of January, 1853.

1st of July,¹ at which time there were eleven ministers and one missionary in the Presbyteries of Miramichi and St. John in New Brunswick.

The first real and effective movement towards making the Church of Scotland in the Lower Provinces a self-supporting Church, independent of the support given to them by the Home Church in Scotland, was made also in the year 1868 with the setting up, in accordance with the wishes of the Colonial Committee, at the first meeting of the Synod, of a Board of Home Missions in connection with this Church of the Maritimes. The purpose of this Board was fourfold; (1) To diminish the amount drawn from the Colonial Committee without diminishing the salaries of ministers and missionaries; (2) To increase the amount raised by themselves; (3) To urge on congregations the prime duty of becoming self-sustaining as soon as possible; (4) To arrange and work a plan for the efficient and economical distribution of missionaries among the different Presbyteries.² Rev. George M. Grant of Halifax was appointed Convener of the Board and a most able Convener too he proved himself to be. And within three years of its formation Mr. Grant was able to report:

"We are gradually becoming self-supporting. We have a system now and that gives the people confidence, and so their contributions for Home Missions are five times what they were three years ago."³ And by the next year that Board was able to report that the sum

1--Gregg's Short History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada to 1892, page 78.

2--Issue of September, 1872, of the Home and Foreign Record of the Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces of British North America, page 266.

3--Church of Scotland Missionary Record, September, 1871.

drawn from the Colonial Committee of the Church of Scotland for the previous year was less than a fourth of what had been drawn four years before.

So gradually that Church too worked its way through to independence and self-support.

In June of 1875, after long negotiations, there took place in Montreal the union of the Presbyterian Churches in Canada. With this union the term "in connection with the Church of Scotland" was dropped and the Church that had formerly used it, with the other branches of the Presbyterian Church with which it was now united, took upon themselves the name "The Presbyterian Church in Canada."

This thesis has taken up the contribution of the Scottish Church to early New Brunswick Presbyterianism. It has endeavoured to tell the story of how the Church in Scotland planted, and having planted, stood by to help the Church in the colony; the story also of the faithfulness and devotion of the ministers and missionaries who came from Scotland to these shores. Nor, in this closing chapter, should the people in the different congregations of the Church in New Brunswick be left without a word of appreciation. Loyally they worked together in so many communities to build their church, often even before they had any great promise of a minister. On occasion also, fortunately not often, when the minister was forced to leave his charge, as faithfully as they could, they stood by the cause and looked forward to better days. Then as the years passed and as circumstances permitted they took upon themselves more and more the making of their colonial Church a strong and free and worthy part of The Presbyterian Church in Canada.

APPENDIX I.

Rev. James Fraser.

In the Winslow Papers (page 384 of the printed book, 467 of the typewritten copy) there appears a letter written from the Miramichi to Colonel Edward Winslow, dated July 29th, 1791. Following is an extract from it.

"This is the second time I wrote your Honour by the Reverend James Fraser, our minister."

Also on page 412 of the printed book, 507 of the typewritten copy, there is to be found a letter from James Fraser to Colonel Winslow dated Miramichi, 23rd August, 1793, in which, among other things, he states that there is for Mr. W. S. Oliver, who has just arrived to take over the "Custom House business" and other "offices" enough "emoluments" to "enable him to live comfortably."

Mr. Oliver however found, before a year was done, that he was going to be greatly disappointed in the amount of remuneration received, so, writing to Colonel Winslow under date of July 12th, 1794, he seeks the latter's help in the obtaining of the appointment "with perhaps some small allowance therefor" which Mr. Fraser had previously held.

"Mr. Fraser, the Presbyterian minister," he writes, "held such an appointment with a handsome allowance, and since he has left this place no one has had it."

APPENDIX II.

Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland,

1638 -- 1842.

Declaratory Enactment and Recommendation as to Colonial Churches.

"The GENERAL ASSEMBLY of the Church of Scotland did, and hereby do, enact and declare, That it is proper and expedient for ordained ministers of the Church of Scotland connected with fixed congregations in any of the British Colonies to form themselves, where circumstances permit, into Presbyteries and Synods adhering to the Standards of this Church and maintaining her form of worship and government.

"That no minister should be received as a member of any such Presbytery or Synod, when first formed, who has not been ordained by a Presbytery of this Church, that no minister of this Church should be afterwards received as a member who does not come specially recommended from the Presbytery by which he was ordained or in which he has last resided, and that no probationer of this Church should receive ordination from any such Presbytery except on his producing extract of license with a testimonial of his good character from the Presbytery or Presbyteries within whose bounds he has resided down to the time of his leaving Scotland.

"That it is not expedient for such Presbyteries, in the present state of education in the colonies, to exercise the powers of licensing probationers, but that licentiates of the Church of Scotland who shall be ordained by any such Presbytery to particular charges in the manner above described shall remain in full communion with the Church of Scotland and retain all the rights and privileges which belong to licentiates or ministers of this Church, and that members of congregations under the charge of ministers so ordained shall on coming to Scotland be admitted to church privileges on production of satisfactory certificates of their religious and moral character from the minister and session of the congregation to which they have severally belonged.

"And the Assembly earnestly recommend to all ministers and probationers of this Church who remove to those colonies in which such Presbyteries are constituted to put themselves under the inspection of the Presbytery of the bounds within which they may reside, and, in the event of their returning to this country, to produce testimonials from such Presbytery or Presbyteries of their character and conduct during their absence.

"The General Assembly further named a standing committee to correspond with such churches in the colonies for the purpose of giving advice on any question with regard to which they may choose to consult the Church of Scotland and affording them such aid as it may be in the power of the committee to give in all matters affecting their rights and interests."

(From pages 1023 and 1024, May 24th, 1833.)

APPENDIX III.

List of grants given to the Church of Scotland congregations
by the Government of New Brunswick :

Church for which granted	Situation of the land	Year	Acres	Total
<hr/>				
St. John--	County of St. John			
St. Andrew's	North side Quaco Road	1820	500	
St. Stephen's	Upper Salmon River	1837	500	
St. Andrew's	" " "	"	500	1,500
County of York				
Fredericton	Rapide de Femme, Carleton	1836	500	
"	River Tobique, Otelloch	1837	1000	1,500
County of Northumberland				
Alnwick--Tabusintao	Tabusintao River	1836	572	
Newcastle	Beobeais Point Burying			
	Ground	1836	4	
Newcastle	Renon's River	1837	500	
Chatham	" "	"	500	
Glenelg	Black River	1838	500	2,076
County of Kent				
Richibucto	St. Nicholas River & Coal Branch	1837	500	
County of Carleton				
Richmond	Richmond Settlement	1838	500	
County of Charlotte				
St. James	River St. Croix	1838	500	
St. Andrew's	Canoose River at Scot's Rips		500	
County of Gloucester				
Dalhousie	Upsalquitch River	"	500	
Bathurst	West side Miramichi Road	"	500	3,000
				<hr/>
				8,076

(From Missionary Record, issue of September, 1846.)

APPENDIX IV.

The Disruption.

The following circular letter (from the Church of Scotland) signed by the Convener and Vice Convener was forwarded by the Colonial Committee to all the Presbyterian ministers in the colonies:

"Reverend and dear Sir,--In transmitting to you, by direction of the Committee of the General Assembly for Promoting the Religious Interests of Scottish Presbyterians in the British Colonies, a copy of the Pastoral Address to the people of Scotland, we are further instructed to state to you the present position of the Established Church and to request of you such information as may guide the Committee in their further operations in behalf of their colonial brethren. It must be well known to you that a lamentable secession has taken place and that a numerous body of ministers, many of them eminent for their talents, zeal, and public services have not only withdrawn from the communion of the Church but have placed themselves in direct and uncompromising hostility to its institutions. What the ultimate effect of this separation may be, it would be presumptuous to anticipate. The General Assembly have the satisfaction to know that a very large majority of the ministers of the Church remain attached to the Establishment and that they are supported by a still larger proportion of the lay population of their native country. They have not the slightest apprehension that this support will be materially diminished so long as the ecclesiastical government is administered on those principles, and with that fidelity to its Divine Head which, they trust, they shall ever be enabled to maintain. The institutions of the Church are precisely the same which its office-bearers declared at their ordination to be "founded on the word of God and agreeable thereto." They are administered on the principles which were recognized and assented to by Calvin, Knox, and the most eminent reformers. They are those which have been acted on by the Church with scarcely an exception in every period of its history. In adhering to them its present ministers and elders do no more than fulfil their ordination vows and the obligations incumbent on them as members of an Established Church. They regard the troublous times into which we have fallen as imposing on them the duty of redoubled exertion in promoting the interests of the Establishment and the success of all its schemes of usefulness, whether for domestic or remote objects. With this view the several committees of Assembly on these schemes have been reappointed and have now

commenced their operations for another year with the fairest prospects of success. The support furnished by a Lay Association, comprising a very large proportion of the rank, property, and intelligence of this Kingdom, assures them of means more extensive and abundant than they have possessed at any former period for advancing the cause in which they are engaged. And they count confidently on receiving, as they will endeavour to deserve, the confidence of their countrymen, the countenance of government, and the approbation of Him whose glory they desire to promote.

"Such are the principles and the prospects under which the Colonial Committee desire to enter anew on their labours of love. In order that these may be successful it is necessary that they should possess correct information as to the condition, the wants, and the state of feeling of their brethren in the colonies. We have been directed to address you with the view of obtaining such information, to express the confident hope that you adhere steadfastly to the Church of your Fathers, and their trust that the same feelings prevail in the Presbytery to which you belong, and generally amongst their brethren in the important colony to the improvement of which their and your labours have been directed. You may be assured that any information which you may be pleased to afford on these and other subjects of interest to yourself and to the Presbyterian body in --(name of place concerned)--will be thankfully received, and that no exertion on the part of the Committee shall be wanting, in so far as the means put at their disposal may enable them to fulfil the purpose for which they are appointed.

"With the most earnest prayer for your personal comfort and the success of your labours, we remain, &c,

Signed D. MacFarlane, D.D. Convener.
James Grant, D.D. Vice Convener.

The following circular letter (from the Free Church of Scotland) was sent to the ministers in the colonies:

Edinburgh, June 28, 1843.

"Rev. and dear Sir,--We have been requested by the Committee of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland on Colonial Missions, in conformance with the deliverance of the Assembly on the 29th May, to open a communication with you in regard to the present position of our Church and to inform you as to our views and purposes respecting our countrymen in the British Colonies and in foreign lands.

"You are already fully acquainted with the views of the different parties in the Church of Scotland previous to the month of May last, and in particular with the principles which were maintained by those who have recently seceded from the Establishment, not merely from the ordinary channels of public information but also from the documents which from time to time were transmitted to you. It having appeared to us that there was an invasion on our rights and privileges by the civil courts, an appeal was made to Her Majesty's Executive Government and thereafter to the Legislature of the Country. The result of this appeal was unfavourable to the claims of the Church and it was found by the individuals holding our views that a Free Assembly of the Church of Scotland in accordance with the fundamental principles of that Church as heretofore understood could not be constituted without a violation of the terms of the union between the Church and the State as declared by the highest authority. In these circumstances, after much deliberation and earnest prayer, the Commissioners to the Assembly, maintaining the principles for which the Church has been for some time past called upon to contend, resolved to enter this solemn protest that a Free Assembly of the Church of Scotland as Established by Law could not be holden and to withdraw from the meeting.

"The circumstances connected with this solemn proceeding and the reasons by which we were actuated are set forth fully in the accompanying paper entitled "The Affectionate Representation, &c, &c," to which we must refer you for further information.

"It affords us great pleasure to be able to inform you that amidst the many trials and privations to which we have been already subjected and to which we have the prospects of being still further exposed, it has pleased the great Head of the Church to visit and support us with many glad encouragements. Our meetings were distinguished by a spirit of grace and supplication and a great unanimity.

"The zeal of the people of Scotland also for the cause of the Free Church has been manifested to an almost unprecedented

degree and a great door and effectual has been opened up for preaching the Gospel. Nor are the benefits likely to be confined to our own country. The spirit of liberality which has been awakened encourages us to hope that under the Divine blessing the Church will be enabled to carry on her missionary operations with greater energy and to a greater extent than heretofore. We can truly assure you that the condition of our countrymen, whether in the colonies or in foreign kingdoms, has attracted the most anxious consideration of the Church. You may well believe, from the practical proof we have given of the importance we attach to our principles, that we are most anxious that they be greatly recognized, and in a special manner we conceive it to be of the utmost importance to the Redeemer's Kingdom that the Scottish Presbyterians who are scattered over every quarter of the world should proclaim their attachment to them; and at one time we had contemplated a lengthened address to our ministers and people generally in other lands explaining fully the doctrines in regard to the kingly character of Christ which we maintain and urging to an adherence to them. Upon further consideration, however, a different course has suggested itself to us; and having all confidence in the wisdom and christian principles of the court over which you preside, we think it better to place the subject in your own hands leaving it for--- (those concerned)---to consider what, in all the circumstances, the course is which it is their duty to pursue as a Church and as individuals and in what manner they should bring the question under the views of the people.

"In what manner the resolution to which you may come is likely to affect your temporal interests we are unable to judge. We are satisfied, however, that you will follow what appears to you to be the path of duty, wherever it may lead. And we beg to assure you that in any instance the claims of conscience cannot be yielded to without suffering loss, our sympathies and active exertions as well as those of our people will be called forth to meet the evil in so far as we are able.

"It may be proper to state before concluding that the Committee is already prepared to continue operations in sending out ministers to destitute localities and they are ready to receive applications upon the subject.

"We shall trust to your laying the communication before your---(name of Church Court concerned)--- with as little delay as possible, and we shall be glad to be acquainted with the result of your deliberation in regard to it. And hoping for an interest in your sympathies and prayers and assuring you of our having you continually upon our hearts at the Throne of Grace,
we remain, &c--

	David Welsh	
Signed		Joint Conveners.
	John Sym	

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I

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